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Ministers and gentlemen desirous of further information are requested to communicate with the Secretary, who is daily in attendance at the Office of the Society, where shares may be taken, Subscriptions paid, and Prospectuses obtained.

JOHN EDWARD TRESIDDER, Secretary.

Office, 37, New Bridge-street, London.

* For List of Directors and Officers of the Society, see advertisement in another column.

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Price 2s. per Pot, sent post free with instructions, &c., on receipt of twenty-four postage stamps, by Madame Couppelle, Ely-place, Holborn, London, or it may be obtained of the Agents below.

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N.B.—Should difficulty occur, endorse stamps to Mlle. Rosalie Couppelle.

THE Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XII.—NEW SERIES, No. 338.]

LONDON: THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1852.

PRICE 6d.

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ECCLIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE ELECTORAL POLICY OF DISSENTERS.

A LETTER from Sir William Clay, inserted in another column, explanatory and vindicatory of his refusal, as candidate for the representation of the Tower Hamlets, to pledge his Parliamentary support to "the separation of Church and State," demands respectful notice. He who, like the honourable baronet, shows a readiness to inquire, evinces candour in dealing with the materials before him, and states his reasons for the conclusion at which he has arrived, renders truth, and the public who are interested in it, a service of no mean value. For this we thank him most heartily—not the less so for being compelled to differ with him in judgment. It becomes us to follow his example—and, in order that we may do this satisfactorily, at least to ourselves, we shall avoid all personal references, and address ourselves exclusively to the question on which his letter turns.

We may as well aver, at the outset, that our object in contesting the point at issue between Sir William Clay and ourselves, is general rather than special—contemplates the clearing up of a matter upon which, not he alone, but the great majority of Liberal members of Parliament, appear to us to entertain somewhat misty notions—aims, in a word, to exert an influence upon the course of electoral action, not in the Tower Hamlets particularly, but in every borough where Nonconformists are able and disposed to bear practical testimony to their distinctive principles. We wish to furnish an answer to the hundreds of candidates who, when questioned on "the separation of Church and State," will reply, as Sir William did, that it is "an abstract question," but who will not, as he has done, give a manly and intelligent explanation of their views. We regard him as having enunciated opinions common to gentlemen of his class—and we are extremely anxious that they, as well as he, should be brought to understand that the course pursued by those Dissenters who put forth the Church Establishment question as an electoral test, is not so unreasonable as is commonly supposed.

First, then, let us briefly explain what we, and we believe, most of those who think with us, regard as constituting such a *pledge* as, on this subject, would be accepted as sufficient ground for confidence. We do not in this, any more than in any other matter, desire to fetter the discretion of honourable members. We do not expect them to say "Aye" to every motion, affirmatory of our own views, which may be made, without regard to shape, time, or circumstances. We have no disposition, even if we had the power, to scourge our representatives into senatorial folly. We ask nothing more than a distinct and unreserved concurrence with us in our principle, and an honourable assurance that by that principle the future votes of the member will be regulated, on all questions which admit of its application. In minor and subordinate details we should be found to tolerate considerable difference of opinion—but, in our view, there is a broad and fundamental

distinction between a willingness to uphold the Church as a State Institution, however tempered by liberality of sentiment, and a sincere desire to put an end to that anomaly, however cautious and guarded may be the means deemed most suitable for effecting it. When our *pledge* has brought out this distinction, and has made it clear to us on which side of the line the candidate seeking our suffrages stands, it has done its work—it has answered its purpose—we are willing to trust the rest to legislative wisdom, and to integrity of character. This is a kind of guarantee which constituents are justified in requiring at the hands of their representative.

"The separation of Church and State," it is alleged, is so pre-eminently "an abstract question," that a pledge in its favour must be either valueless on the one hand, or rash and reckless on the other. To that which it takes a score of closely printed pages merely to explain, no reasonable man can be expected to give in his unqualified adhesion. Let us attempt to put this matter in its proper light, and then refer it to the judgment of unsophisticated common sense. The descriptive terms employed, it is true, are abstract—the course of policy they are meant to label is practical enough. Who, now-a-days, would object to pledge himself to "Free-trade," on the ground of its being a mere "abstract principle," and yet who, fifteen years ago, could have set forth the legal changes required by Free-trade, in less compass than that above referred to? A series of legislative measures, pervaded by the same principle, and directed towards a common end, must needs have, for convenience sake, a brief descriptive title—but it does not follow that because that patronymic is an abstraction, the policy it stands for and denotes is not of a practical character. It may be unwise—may be difficult—may be premature—but it is not necessarily abstract. "The separation of Church and State" is the formula by which we mean to express the changes in law necessary to take Christianity in any of its forms from under the management of civil authority—to relieve Law of all responsibility in regard to Religion, save only to protect men in the exercise of it—and to leave Religion to its own power, resources, and independence, amenable to Law only for loyal obedience in civil matters. Those changes it may take a man a good while to describe—some of them may have to encounter great opposition, may demand much caution in making them, and may be so gradually effected as to require a generation or two before they can be completely realized—but all this does not hinder a wise man from saying that they ought to be made, and that he will help to make them.

The real objection is, not to the theoretical, but to the practical nature of the demand. It is the pecuniary aspect of the question from which men are most disposed to shrink. The Church Establishment has the use, and, within certain limits, the control of a vast amount of national property—and the resumption of this by the State for secular purposes would destroy many sources of social and political influence, would touch many interests, and might, possibly, shock many honest prejudices. But, if the principle be a sound one—that the Church and the State have each a separate and appropriate province, and would do best to keep within it, neither interfering with the other—the resumption is a necessary feature of its development—ought to be aimed at—can be achieved. It may take long to bring round public opinion to this point—but that only shows the importance of beginning as soon as possible. It may involve a great deal of intricate detail requiring cautious adjustment, but this a wise legislature would provide for. The Commutation Tithe Commission, and the Encumbered Estates Commission, may serve to show that whenever Parliament can agree upon the propriety of doing a complicated and delicate work, it can also devise machinery adapted to give effect to its will. Where, as in the case before us, a vast concretion of property is to be adjusted to a new political system, on principles which save all life interests, and give compensation for every individual pecuniary loss, a special executive must be entrusted with the

details, controlled only by such principles as Parliament may deem it fitting to recognise and enforce. Even this feature, therefore, of the separation of Church and State, is practical enough, whenever we can get the House of Commons to resolve upon it—and is it not our business, who desire this change, to send as many men to that House as we are able, who think with us, and will honestly seek this result?

The little tract to which reference is made in Sir William Clay's letter, entitled, "What is the Separation of Church and State?" and published by "the British Anti-state-church Association," classifies all the legal changes sought by those who advocate the separation, under the following heads—*Penalty, Preference, Pay*; in other words, "the repeal of all enactments which inflict legal penalties or civil disabilities upon a man on account of his religious profession—the abolition of all preferences or privileges conferred by the State in connexion with religious opinion—the resumption, for secular purposes, of all funds belonging to the State, appropriated at present to the support of religion"—and it gives instances, under each of these heads, of the changes in law which each would require. Sir William is astonished at finding several particulars included for which he has already voted, and at not finding any proposal, but that relating to church property, in which he could not concur. It is quite evident from this that the question is not so far removed from the practical and the strictly legislative as his letter would seem to imply, and that the vagueness of the proposition to separate the Church from the State exists, not in the minds of those who put it forward, but only in the apprehensions of those candidates who have not studied the subject. So it was a dozen years ago with Free-trade—so it will cease to be a dozen years hence with the question under notice. Our M.P.'s have never given their attention to the subject—never taken a leisurely survey of its height, breadth, length, and depth. Fancy pictures it to them as a huge, unshapen monster, looming through the mists—and the want of definiteness, which is solely attributable to their own negligence of investigation, they not unnaturally set down as inherent in the matter itself. Now, we take leave to say that this unacquaintance with an important question largely occupying the public mind, and certain of being mooted in all large constituencies, is scarcely creditable to candidates, more especially as the means of information are within easy reach—and we cannot but think that the proceedings of those electors who compel their members to look into this much-neglected subject entitle them to thanks rather than to rebuke.

Having thus endeavoured, not altogether unsuccessfully we hope, to rescue the subject-matter of the proposition in question from the lumber-room of "abstractions" to which so many Parliamentary candidates have unreflectingly consigned it, we might here close our remarks, if it were our only object to meet the objections started by Sir W. Clay; but, as we stated above, the end we have in view is more general. The *Nonconformist* has been the most active organ in urging upon Dissenters the policy of taking up that advanced position, in all future elections, which Sir William evidently regards as unwisely chosen. We are, therefore, under the necessity of out-running our usual limits, for the purpose of showing that the separation of Church and State is not only a question meet and proper in itself to be mooted on the hustings, but also that there are strong reasons for inducing earnest Nonconformists to press it home upon candidates, and, wherever they have the power, to make acquiescence in it a condition of their votes.

And first, regard for the highest interests of their fellow-countrymen may well be admitted to sway the decisions of many. If they believe, as we do, and as most of themselves profess to do, that a system of State-bounty and Protection is the bane of religion, as it is of agriculture and commerce—that spiritual vitality decays just in proportion as individual responsibility, activity, and self-sacrifice, are superseded—that the authority of

man's law when exerted to give effect to God's truth, misrepresents its benign character, stirs up evil passions, establishes *caste* where there should be only charity, and degrades the majesty of religion into a low political instrument, it cannot be surprising that they should be willing to encounter some risks and many difficulties to abolish such a system. Their constitutional privileges are held in trust for the benefit of society, and it would be strange indeed if, in the exercise of them, they should systematically exclude from all practical effort the abolition of an arrangement which, in their view, operates so powerfully to muffle the spiritual force of the gospel.

In the next place, prudence as well as piety dictates the line of conduct we are now attempting to vindicate. We cannot afford to fight our enemy on details—we have neither time nor spirits for this method of warfare. Experience has proved to us that a body of clergy, thoroughly organized, amply endowed, and raised by the State to a position of *prestige* and influence in social and political life, cannot be suffered to continue without detriment to religious liberty. So long as such a corporation exists, it will use its resources, by a natural instinct, to better its position. It has leisure to plan encroachments which we have not leisure to resist. It has political facilities for making good its claims which are denied to us, and which we could not accept even if offered. Defeated in any one attempt at self-aggrandisement, it can wait, and watch, and advance again under more favourable auspices. Look at our workhouse chaplains, our Educational Minutes, our Metropolitan Interments Act, our London Necropolis bills, our Colonial Bishops, and kindred measures, as proof that the clergy endowed by the State are ever vigilant and active in strengthening their exclusive position, and in augmenting their resources at the public expense. We cannot be for ever on the alert against their movements. We know that whilst they continue to occupy their present vantage ground, we shall never be secure from their ecclesiastical incursions. Our shortest, surest, safest method of defending ourselves is that of boldly assailing the very citadel of our antagonist, and of preventing the extension of his lines by calling all his attention to his centre. Why should we not? Who can blame us for our decision? And what Churchman has a right to complain of us as too dogmatic?

Thirdly, it is notorious that the Liberal party in this country is composed quite as largely of Dissenters as of members of the Establishment, and that in the theoretic principle they hold touching the State Church, the vast majority of the working classes concur. It is as well known that, until quite recently, they generously gave their support to the Liberals, without exacting terms for themselves. What was their reward? They were snubbed by Lord John Russell as utterly destitute of Parliamentary strength. They were never consulted even where their own interests were affected. None treated them with more supercilious scorn than members who owed their seat to Nonconformists' energy and votes. Well! we have had enough of this. We are numerous enough, we are powerful enough, and, before long, we shall be spirited enough, to right ourselves. To do this, we must send to the House of Commons men from among ourselves, agreeing with us in principle, conversant with our affairs, and competent as well as willing to express and to enforce our views. Where we can return two men of this stamp, what should hinder us from doing so? Where we are but a moiety of the Liberals, why should we not claim to nominate one member, instead of accepting two selected by those who do not sympathize with us in sentiment? We have but just commenced this new system of tactics—but already we begin to be conscious of our strength. For every instance of success at the ensuing general election, we venture to predict half-a-dozen at any future one. We have been driven to this—but our *quondam* allies, rather than ourselves, have to regret the obligation laid upon us. The question of Church and State, whatever may be thought of it now, will soon take its place amongst those on which Parliamentary candidates will be generally expected to be accurately informed, and to have made up their minds.

Fourthly, if we had been previously doubtful as to the wisdom of this policy, Lord Derby's declaration on taking office would have dispelled our doubts. He tells us frankly that it will be his aim to extend and increase the influence of the Church Establishment. Be it so! We are threatened. Now what protection can we hope for from those whom Lord John Russell has been accustomed to lead? Free-trade was not so distinctly assailed by the Derby Administration as free religion—the menace levelled against the one was not half so decided and portentous as that against the other. But while there were many protests against Protection when its aspect was towards commerce, who thought it worth while to denounce it when its aspect was towards religion? Where was the righteous indignation of the Liberals at this show

of retrogression? What evidence have they placed on record of their dissent? of their alarm? of their determination? We know of none, or next to none. Experience has taught us that Whigs as well as Tories are but too ready to minister to, and indulge, the grasping and rapacious spirit of the Church. The reed we have leant upon in our hour of trial is a bruised one. We must rely exclusively upon ourselves. We must retreat upon our impregnable principles. We must henceforth confide in the might of earnest resolution, having for its basis a solid, deep, and comprehensive truth. These, and such as these, are our reasons for thrusting forward upon the electoral stage the unwelcome topic of "the separation of Church and State."

All things must have a beginning—and in this, as in other difficult undertakings, *c'est le premier pas qui coûte*. Here and there we may suffer defeat—here and there, make an unfortunate mistake—here and there, turn out a moderately good man to replace him by one who is worse in all respects but in empty profession. Tact is not to be gained in a moment—but time and exercise will bring it. That which looks fanatically extreme in what we now purpose and attempt, will be regarded as moderate, and, perhaps, statesmanlike, before ten years have rolled over our heads. We remember when Mr. C. Villiers's motion for a repeal of the Corn-laws was received in the House of Commons with yells of execration, and when a Whig minister denounced Free-trade as the wildest insanity that ever entered mortal brain. We are not, therefore, distrustful of a policy merely because it happens to be repudiated in Parliamentary quarters. If truth be its object, common sense its weapon, and sincerity its spirit, we know how it will fare with it eventually. The English mind will be gradually taken captive by it. Episcopal greed, caputular dishonesty, Puseyistic absurdities, church-rate cruelties, and a whole legion of similar agencies, are removing impediments out of the way—overturning many a fond prejudice, and convincing and quickening many a sleepy conscience. Public opinion on this subject is as yet latent only—but it is widely diffused. Before long, the working men will obtain the franchise which is now with difficulty withheld from them—and whenever that day arrives, "the separation of Church and State" will constitute one motto on the banner under which every candidate pretending to be abreast of the times will be compelled to march. It is not so very childish as some would imagine, to be in advance just now on this "question of questions."

In conclusion, we take the opportunity of intimating to Sir W. Clay, and many other Parliamentary members and candidates of his way of thinking, that we see no present likelihood of their being called upon to record their votes in favour of an abstract proposition affirmative merely of the principle in dispute. We should think it extremely improbable, because unspeakably foolish, that the House of Commons will be invited by any Nonconformist member to say "Aye" or "No" to a barren resolution pledging it to the separation of Church and State. There exists no intention, that we are aware of, on the part of any, of thus blindly butting against a dead wall. The principle, however, may be distinctly enounced, and probably will be, again and again, not in speech merely, but in motion, as occasion calls for it. Nor is there any fear whatever that fitting occasion will be wanting. The money grants for ecclesiastical purposes annually proposed to Parliament, the Canada Clergy Reserves question, the Maynooth College Act, the Irish Church, Church-rates in England, the Annuity Tax in Scotland, to say nothing of the attempts of the Puseyite section of the Church to obtain for her the power of self-government, will open up scope enough for Anti-state-church members, to put forward their views, and to take the sense of the House upon them, if necessary, without once quitting the ground of practical legislation. Happily, men are not obliged to give a holiday to their discretion, merely because they are impelled by inexorable determination to pursue a given object. Waiting and watching are not incompatible with steadfastness of purpose. They who are aware that they have a disagreeable duty to perform, may yet look out for the most timely, and the most graceful opportunities for performing it. However distasteful the matter, it is still possible that the manner may be unexceptionable. Perhaps even Sir William himself will be found, ere long, commending by speech, and authenticating by vote, propositions to which he now refuses to bind himself, as too vague and abstract for senatorial consideration. At all events, we think we can promise him that when the question does come before him and the House of Commons, it will be in a shape adapted to immediate exigencies, and worthy of being looked at by the most practical of statesmen. The principle is one which may be fairly avowed at any time—the measures required to give it effect may have to be fought for singly. We have a long way to go, and we are solemnly resolved upon going there—but where we cannot fly we

may run, where we cannot run we may walk, where we cannot walk we may creep. Our end is before us—how it may be best attained we must leave to courage, sagacity, experience, time, events—and, we add without irreverence, to God.

MR. GLADSTONE AND THE COURT OF ARCHES.

Mr. Gladstone (the inhibited minister of Long Acre Chapel), having given in an allegation responsive to the libel admitted on behalf of the promoter of the suit, its admissibility came on for debate on Monday, in the Court of Arches. The Court was exceedingly crowded throughout the proceedings, a large part of the audience consisting of ladies.

Dr. Bayford appeared in opposition to the allegation; and showed that it simply raised the question which had been again and again decided—whether the bishop had the right to revoke a license without reason assigned. He therefore prayed that the allegation be dismissed.

Mr. Gladstone made a long speech in support of the principal clause of the allegation—viz., that the bishop's monition was not a godly, but an ungodly one; and his ordination vows bound him only to obey the former. He believed that his real fault was that he had kept them too faithfully—a declaration that was loudly cheered by the audience, but censured by the Judge (Sir John Dodson).

In giving his decision, the learned Judge said that the sole charge against Mr. Gladstone was for having read prayers, preached, and administered the sacraments in an unconsecrated chapel without the license and contrary to the prohibition of the bishop. The charge did not affect Mr. Gladstone's moral character in any degree whatever; and the only question which the Court had to consider was the point of law. Could any, or what part of Mr. Gladstone's allegation be admitted as a defence to the bishop's charge? Mr. Gladstone had stated that his lordship had no right to revoke a license granted by him during pleasure, without assigning any reasons or making a charge of improper conduct. Did it, however, follow, that the bishop could not have other good reasons besides offence on the part of Mr. Gladstone for revoking the license? The bishop might at one time have thought it proper that the chapel should be opened as a chapel of ease to the parish church, and he might now think it proper, decent, and becoming that divine service should be performed in a chapel consecrated for the purpose. The license granted to Mr. Gladstone was not an absolute grant, but only during pleasure, and now for alleged divers good reasons the bishop had withdrawn it. Mr. Gladstone, in his allegation, had given the history of the chapel, and from that it appeared that the license of the bishop, as well as the consent of the vicar of the parish, had always been required in order to enable the minister to perform divine service. In point of fact, it was not alleged that it was a *bond fide* chapel belonging to the parish church. It was a mere proprietary chapel belonging to the Mercers' Company. Mr. Gladstone, in his second article, had given himself a very high character, and he (the learned judge) knew nothing, nor had he heard of anything, impugning it. But had that any bearing on the present question? The Bishop of London had granted him a license after examining his testimonials, and there was no necessity either for pleading the history of the chapel or the character which Mr. Gladstone had sustained at Norwich. The simple question was, whether the bishop had a right to revoke the license. Mr. Gladstone, in his third article, alleged that he had faithfully discharged his duties at Long-acre Chapel. There was no charge of a contrary nature made against him. The fourth article pleaded the prohibition, and Mr. Gladstone contended that it was not a godly but an ungodly monition which he had received. The rev. gentleman, however, by the ordination service, was bound to obey the lawful commands of his diocesan, and the question again would be, whether he had received a lawful command or not. When that service was framed there were no proprietary chapels, and no person could be incumbent of any place without the license of the bishop first had and obtained, and then it could not be revoked without good cause being shown. The law bearing on the question had been settled in such a way that he (Sir John Dodson) was not at liberty to overrule the decisions which had taken place. If all the facts pleaded in Mr. Gladstone's allegation were proved, they would not be sufficient to deprive the bishop of his power to revoke the license. He must therefore reject the allegation.

Mr. Gladstone would venture to protest against the decision, which he believed was opposed both to law and equity. He would appeal, therefore, to her Majesty in Council [loud cheers].

Dr. Bayford submitted that, as this was a proceeding under the Church Discipline Act, Mr. Gladstone could not appeal without the sanction of the Court, and he hoped that, under the circumstances, the Court would not grant it.

The learned Judge said that as he had simply determined that the allegation was not admissible, he saw no necessity for the appeal, and therefore declined to allow it.

Publication was then decreed, and Mr. Gladstone was allowed until the next session to state whether he would give in an exceptive allegation to the testimony of the witnesses examined on behalf of the promoter of the suit.

THE DIOCESAN SYNOD MOVEMENT.—The supporters of the "emancipated Church" movement held a meeting—adjourned from London—at Gloucester, on Wednesday last. There was some

opposition from Evangelical clergymen, but both parties were vacillating, and only two out of three resolutions were carried—the first was not put.

THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH MOVEMENT.

SOUTHAMPTON.—After the lapse of a considerable period, the Anti-state-church Association has just held a meeting in this town. It took place in the Victoria Rooms, on Tuesday, the 27th of April, when a very large and enthusiastic audience assembled, and the whole proceedings excited the most lively interest. Mr. Alderman Williams occupied the chair. The Rev. W. Forster and Mr. Carvell Williams were present as a deputation, and were admirably supported by friends on the spot. Mr. Broad moved the first resolution, after which, says the *Hants Independent*, the Rev. A. M'Laren delivered an able and effective address, and was followed by Mr. Forster, whose speech was greatly applauded. As the resolution was about to be put, Mr. Elliott, an architect, contended that in no other country was religious freedom enjoyed to such a great extent as in England, and therefore the existence of a connexion between the Church and the State was not incompatible with religious freedom. All property was purchased subject to the payment of church-rates, and less money was given for it in consequence; and concluded, amidst great laughter, by moving an amendment to the effect that as it was, above all things, necessary that all laws should be founded on the only source of good, it was essential that the State should connect itself with a righteous church. Mr. Moody, a lawyer, seconded the amendment, and threw out a challenge to any person to meet him in an assembly like that, where proper regulations should be laid down, and the subject might be discussed—a challenge which was afterwards qualified by stating that he would meet only a Protestant Trinitarian. Some half-dozen hands only were held up in favour of the amendment, and several hundreds in favour of the original proposition, which was declared carried amid deafening cheers. Mr. John Carvell Williams advocated, with great power and energy, the claims of the Association. His resolution referred to the duty of Dissenters at the elections, and his speech furnished information in reply to a question lately put in that room by Sir A. Cockburn, as to what the separation of Church and State meant. He (Mr. Williams) said that Anti-state-churchmen need not keep their principles in abeyance for the sake of free-trade; for Protectionist principles were dead—and, if they were not buried also, it was only because their advocates had been in too great a hurry to run away from them:—

"These are the Grecian hosts that in battle were slain,
And inglorious remain, unburied on the plain,"

[great laughter]. Mr. Falvey, of the *Hants Independent*, referred to Mr. Elliott's speech, the logic of which reminded him of the American barrister's appeal to the jury:—"Gentlemen, I smell a rat—I see a storm brewing in the horizon—please God, I'll pluck it up by the roots!"—an apt comparison, which was followed by roars of laughter. Mr. Elliott attempted to move another amendment, but the meeting became impatient, and the resolution having been carried, the Rev. J. W. Wyld and Mr. Clark followed, and it was eleven o'clock before this exciting and most successful meeting terminated.

BRIGHTON.—A meeting, says the *Brighton Gazette*, avowedly for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the separation of Church and State, was held at Brighton, on Monday, the 26th of April, Messrs. Kingsley and J. C. Williams attending as a deputation from the Anti-state-church Association, and Isaac Bass, Esq., a member of the Society of Friends, occupying the chair. Mr. Kingsley, alluding to the defence set up on behalf of the State Church, that it was a bulwark against Popery, said, that he held in his hand a lecture which was delivered in that hall by the Rev. Mr. Neale, M.A., on the 19th of February last, which showed clearly how much right they had to depend upon the Protestant Church for shutting out Popery. In that lecture was this passage:—"The Church of England never was, is not now, and I trust never will be, Protestant." Mr. Gladstone also, in his work on Church and State, had devoted his second volume to disprove the assertion that the Church of England was entirely Protestant in its character.

CARDIFF.—A public meeting was held at English Baptist chapel, Cardiff, on the 21st of April, for the purpose of receiving the Rev. D. M. Evans, of Manchester, and the Rev. C. Short, of Swansea, who attended as a deputation from the Anti-state-church Association. The large chapel was respectably filled on the occasion. Mr. Evans referred in strong terms to the persecutions carried on against Dissenters at Cwmavon, already referred to in our columns. Mr. Short referred to the objections urged against the Association, and said that he once conversed with a person on the subject whose grey hairs commanded his respect; he said, "I do not like the Association—I do not like the spirit, the *animus* of it; it is coarse, insolent, violent, and intrusive." He asked the aged gentleman if he would be kind enough to inform him the grounds on which he made the statement—if he had read the writings of the Association? He said, I must confess that I have not read the writings of the Anti-state-church Association, neither have I attended their meetings, but I have read the writings of Dr. Wardlaw, and I admire his spirit!"

SOUTH WALES.—Meetings were held last week at Haverfordwest, Milford Haven, and Carmarthen, the reports of which have not reached us.

PEMBROKE DOCK.—On the 28th of April, the Rev. Dr. M. Evans, of Manchester, and Rev. Charles

Short, of Swansea, attended, as a deputation, a public meeting in the Temperance Hall here, which, wet as was the evening, was quite filled with attentive hearers. In addition to luminous speeches from the deputation, addresses were delivered by the chairman and two Dissenting ministers of the town, and these told with great effect on the people. A petition for the separation of Church and State, and especially the abolition of church-rates was adopted. This was the best Anti-state-church meeting which has been held here, the collection of an illegal church-rate and other ecclesiastical imposts having greatly added to its interest.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL INTELLIGENCE.

EXPULSION OF STUDENTS FROM NEW COLLEGE.

We have received from "Jacobus" a letter on this subject. As the other side—i.e., the College authorities—have not yet been heard, we do not think it necessary to give more than the following extract from that letter:—

My object, however, in this communication, is not to indulge in general remarks on the course pursued by the directors of New College, but rather to urge upon your readers to beware how they form their judgment on the merits of the case, and on the sentiments of the expelled students, from the reports given in the newspapers and magazines. Nothing is easier than to present one or two detached sentences, spoken probably in the hurry of conversation, as the expression of the opinions of a man; and then, by a skilful application of sundry convenient, but not very intelligible adjectives, to hold him up to condemnation as a heretic. And to this easy, though unfair, style of writing, our religious newspapers, and especially our orthodox magazines, are, unhappily, too much addicted. These weapons have been, and doubtless will yet be, freely used against Mr. Theobald and his friends. Let me urge upon those who wish to form a candid judgment on the matter, not to be misled by such representations, but at least to suspend their verdict till they have read for themselves the "Statement of Facts." To me this pamphlet seems ably written; and, which is still more gratifying, written in a calm, modest, respectful spirit. It is surely but a fair request, that on our opinion of Mr. Theobald's views should be based; that "out of his own mouth" he should be acquitted or condemned.

OPENING OF CLAPTON CHAPEL.—This beautiful and substantial structure was opened on Thursday last, by the Rev. J. Harris, D.D., and the Rev. Samuel Martin. The chapel is an elegant and massive edifice, built entirely of Bath stone, and therefore calculated to be exceedingly durable, while the interior is lined with Caen stone. The length of the building is about 80 feet, its breadth 44 feet, and the height 60 feet. The principal feature of the interior is a noble five-light window at the west end, filled with beautifully stained glass. The organ is an excellent instrument, by Messrs. Snell. The chapel gives accommodation for about 750 adults and 160 children; but, in order to accomplish this, it has been unfortunately necessary to introduce shallow galleries in the aisles and at the east end. The total cost of the building is £5,000. It is proposed to build schools in the rear, at a cost of £2,000. The whole of the premises have been rendered freehold, at a cost of £1,000, and the property has been vested in responsible trustees. At the conclusion of the morning service, some 120 ladies and gentlemen repaired to the Manor-rooms, Hackney, where a sumptuous déjeuner had been provided.

THE REV. A. M. HENDERSON having resigned his connexion with the Wesleyan Methodists, accepted the unanimous invitation of the Independent church assembling in George's-street, Cork, to the pastoral office. He commenced his new ministrations on Lord's-day, April 25.

PORTLAND CHAPEL, ST. JOHN'S WOOD.—The anniversary services of this chapel have recently been held. On the evening of Thursday, the 15th ult., the Rev. Dr. Cox preached; and on Sunday, the 18th, the Rev. A. J. Morris, of Holloway, in the morning, and the Rev. J. Stratten in the evening. On Wednesday evening, the 21st, more than 200 of the friends met at the Eyre Arms Tavern; T. B. Hudson, Esq., presided. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. J. Davis and — Chartier, Esq. (as the representative of the Chapel-building Society), the Revs. Dr. Burns, J. C. Harrison, J. Macrea, and E. G. Salisbury, Esq., of the Temple. The Report stated that during last year (1851) more than £160 had been raised towards the chapel debt—while, after paying all expenses, they had been able to give to their minister just £15 more than the maximum mentioned to the committee of the Chapel-building Society. The remaining debt amounted only to £500; and it was hoped that in the course of the present year £100, or even £150, of this might be cleared off. Before the meeting broke up, the proceeds of the anniversary exceeded £130, and the managers were enabled to pay off £100 of the £500 at once. In the course of the evening a splendidly-bound copy of "Bagster's Comprehensive Bible," on a rich velvet pulpit-cushion, was presented to the pastor of the church, the Rev. George Wilkins, from the ladies of the congregation.

THE FRIENDS OF ITALY.—The third *conversazione* of the Society of the Friends of Italy was held on Wednesday evening, at the Princess's Concert Rooms. Professor Newman's lecture—on England's Place and Duty in Europe—was listened to with the profound attention and hearty applause it deserved; as were a subsequent speech by Mr. Masson, and a short paper by M. Mazzini. We much regret that we have no room for abstract or quotation.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ELECTORAL TESTS—SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR,—I might, perhaps, not unreasonably complain of the tone of some of your remarks. I may be a cautious, but I do not think I can justly be said to be an unwilling reformer, nor do I think that my general language and conduct fairly warrant the belief that I would treat with intentional levity the conscientious opinions of any portion of my constituents, more especially of the Nonconformists, from whom I have ever received a steady and most disinterested support. I have seen too much of public life, however, to believe that the hostility of the press ever injures a public man; by his own conduct he must stand or fall, and discussion only elicits the truth. It is not with the view, therefore, of deprecating the utmost severity of your strictures, that I trouble you at present, but to request of you the favour to insert the following observations in your columns. They have extended to greater length than I could have wished, but they relate to an important question, and may not be at this moment without interest for your general readers.

It is sought, for reasons sufficiently obvious, to show that Nonconformists would be guilty of dereliction of principle in supporting me because I refuse to pledge myself to vote for the "separation of Church and State." It seems to me susceptible of easy proof, not only that the supporting a candidate, who declines to give such a pledge, involves no dereliction of principle, but that it would be in a high degree inexpedient—to use no stronger term—that the Nonconformist body should demand such a pledge from Parliamentary candidates as the condition of their support. It is apparent, I think—obviously consistent with common sense—that pledges, or such expressions of opinion as are binding on the conscience of an upright man, should only be required from a Parliamentary candidate upon questions with respect to which a clear, definite, intelligible course of legislative action can be pointed out. To require an expression of opinion on an abstract proposition, or a pledge on some proposition so general as really to specify nothing, is merely to open the door to possible deception on one hand and misapprehension on the other. Such pledges may embarrass an honourable man; they will clearly afford no security, if, indeed, any pledges can, for the conduct of an unscrupulous one. Now let us apply these tests to the "separation of Church and State." Viewed as a Parliamentary pledge, they will give us a fair estimate of its value, whether as involving an abstract truth or implying legislative action. In the first point of view, "separation of Church and State" involves a principle, the truth of which no Protestant can consistently deny. A Protestant Church establishment is almost a contradiction in terms, admits at all events of no logical defence, inasmuch as it is at variance with that right of private judgment which is the very keystone of the fabric of Protestant belief. To endow from the revenues of the State any particular form of Christian faith, is to run the risk of taking the money of A—, who may on your own principles be right—to support the doctrines of B—, who equally, on those principles, you are bound to admit may be wrong. Viewed, therefore, as an abstract proposition, I cannot conceive how any Protestant, whether Churchman or Nonconformist, can hesitate to give his assent to it. But such is not the sense in which I can conscientiously answer it, if put to me as a Parliamentary pledge. If it be intended to imply some course of legislative action, I am under the necessity of inquiring what that legislative action is to be. It was with this view that I asked, at a recent meeting at Hackney, what was meant by "Separation of Church and State," and I find I am accused of ignorance for so doing. I received no very intelligible reply, and, indeed, do not see how any very explicit answer, having reference to legislative action, could be given. Is it meant that I should bring forward myself, or support if brought forward by others, a motion in terms for the "separation of Church and State?" But then I do not understand how it is that my honourable colleague, Mr. George Thompson, who considers this pledge of such vital importance that he denounces Nonconformists as guilty of a dereliction of principle for supporting me if I refuse to give it—how happens it that he has been five years in the House of Commons without either bringing forward any motion for the "separation of Church and State," or, as far as I am aware, any motion having a tendency to such separation? Do I blame him or this abstinence? On the contrary, I think such a motion would be valueless, to say the least of it; but I may, perhaps, not unreasonably complain, that I should be denounced by him as unworthy of support, for refusing to pledge myself in a question which he has not thought worth bringing forward. If, again, I ask what is meant by "separation of Church and State," as involving practical legislation, I am referred to what I suppose I must consider as an authoritative exposition of the opinions of Nonconformists on this point—I mean No. 27 of the *Tracts of the British Anti-state-church Association*, written by Mr. E. Miall. It consists of twenty-one pages of duodecimo, closely printed; and I might, perhaps, ask at the outset, whether it could be stated as a reasonable objection to a man scrupulous in giving pledges—because he is scrupulous in performing them—that he hesitates to pledge himself on a question which it takes a clever man twenty-one pages, closely printed, to explain? I have no fault, however, to find with the tract itself; it is ably, and, on the whole, temperately written; and I turn with no slight satisfaction from rapid declamation to meanings clearly seen and thoughts accurately expressed. But if the perusal of this dissertation has afforded me pleasure it has occasioned me at least an equal degree of surprise. "Puff" (Mr. Miall is familiar with the critic) was not more startled by the extent of information conveyed by Lord Burleigh's nod, than I am to find what a multitude of propositions are comprised in the phrase "Separation of Church and State." Nor can I conceive any more complete justification of my inquiry, nor any more pregnant illustration of the inconvenience of general and vague Parliamentary pledges, than is afforded by the contents of this ably

written pamphlet. It refers to many questions, all more or less important, but the greater part of them, very unexpectedly to me I confess, comprehended in the phrase, "Separation of Church and State." Some cannot logically be classed in that category, yet more do not fall within it in the ordinary acceptation of the term. But what do I find on examining the several propositions said to be comprised in this most comprehensive term? Why, curiously enough, that there is scarcely one with which I cannot cordially agree. I find enumerated as legislative provisions tending to the "separation of Church and State"—measures all of which I have already supported, or am willing to support. The repeal of all laws which inflict penalties or civil disabilities on account of religious persuasion—the extent to which the observance of the Sabbath may be enforced by law—the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Courts—the unconditional abrogation of church-rates—the abolition of all tests at the Universities, so as to throw open to all sects alike the magnificent rewards of academical distinction in possession of those great establishments—in the whole of these propositions I cordially agree, and have taken a more or less prominent part in obtaining for them the sanction of Parliamentary enactment. There is, indeed, I am disposed to think, but one proposition in the tract to which I should hesitate to give my complete adhesion—namely, the dealing with the revenues of the Church. With regard to another point raised—the depriving the bishops of their seats in the House of Lords, it is a question relating rather to the internal discipline of the Church, than one in which the Nonconformists, as such, have an immediate interest. The question is not free from political difficulties, into which I need not now enter—but the leaning of my opinion on a consideration of the whole case (and that leaning has certainly not been rendered less decided by recent events), is in favour of the proposition. On the last occasion, when the question was brought before the House by Mr. C. Lushington, which was in 1837—and my impression is that it has not been brought forward since—I voted for the motion. Were the question again brought before Parliament—although I am not fond of giving pledges until I know the terms of a motion, and the circumstances under which it is brought forward—I have no doubt but that I should vote for it again. With regard to the other proposition—the dealing with the revenues of the Church—Mr. Miall so fully recognises its difficulty—he fences it round (dealing very fairly and honourably with the subject) with so many precautions to avoid injustice—he requires so long a period for the process which he advocates of transforming into a purely Voluntary system our present blended system of religious instruction—that I hesitate to believe he would himself require a positive pledge on this point from a Parliamentary candidate, as the condition of obtaining his support. The truth is—as no man who reads the signs of the times can be ignorant—that the whole tendency, both of opinions and events, is towards an acquiescence in the principle that the State should in no wise interfere with the religious opinions or practices of the people. Every day sees the spread of the "Voluntary principle," even within the Church itself—every day tends to demonstrate its efficacy as a means of religious instruction. But this seems to me to be pre-eminently one of those questions in the settlement of which time is an important element, and I must esteem, as a very superficial thinker, the man who cannot see and appreciate the enormous difficulties, moral, religious, and political, with which the question is surrounded, and, as at least, an incautious legislator, one who should pledge himself to any immediate course of action on the subject. To an unconditional pledge to support the "separation of Church and State," simply exacted in those terms, it really seems to me that there is but one class of politicians who could with perfect consistency and good faith give their adhesion—I mean the Puseyite or Romanist party in the Church. "Separation" is known to be the object of the ardent aspirations of that party; but, looking to the events of the last few years—looking to the recent disclosures in the case of Frome—the mode of that separation—the precautions necessary before the Church be permitted to release herself from the control of Parliament—should be looked to with special jealousy as well by Nonconformists as by Churchmen. But is it true that a pledge to vote for a "separation of Church and State," is really required by the most eminent leaders of the Nonconformists, or, indeed, by any considerable section of that body, as a condition of their support? The following resolution (whimsically enough, as it seems to me, re-affirmed at a meeting of the friends of Mr. Thompson and Mr. Ayrton a few days since, as a proof that the Nonconformists of the Tower Hamlets were false to their principles in supporting me) was passed at a meeting of the Nonconformist electors of the Tower Hamlets in 1847: "That this meeting of the Nonconformist electors of the Tower Hamlets, deeply impressed with the important crisis at which they are arrived, and the grave responsibilities which it involves, find it to be their bounden duty to assert the great principle, that the civil power, whether viewed in its legislative or administrative functions, has no right, authority, or title, to interfere with the religious opinion, or to direct or control the religious practices, of the people. That applying this principle to religious endowments and schemes of national education, this meeting feels bound to withhold its support from any and every candidate who is not prepared to oppose any attempt to endow one sect at the expense of others, or the extension of the principle of endowment or State-support to all sects, and who is not prepared also to defend and support the religious education of the people, unfettered by State-pay or State-control, as the most precious guarantee of the civil and religious liberties of this country." Not one word, it will be observed, of the "separation of the Church and State." Can it be supposed that these words were omitted by accident? Is it not, on the contrary, clear, from the whole tenor of the resolution, that those by whom it was drawn up, while enunciating the great principles of Dissent—while deprecating any extension of the principle of endowment—did yet, even at that moment, when, from the measures relating to education brought forward by the then Government, great irritation and jealousy pervaded the whole Nonconforming body, intentionally avoid the enjoining as a condition of the support of Nonconformists, any pledge as to the "separation of Church and State?" That such were, at the time, the sentiments of the leaders of the Nonconformists, may be inferred from the fact that my name was included in a list put forward by a meeting of Non-

conformist delegates, of candidates whom, in the opinion of the delegates, Nonconformists might, consistently with their principles, support, although it was a matter of perfect notoriety, that I would not pledge myself for the "separation of Church and State." Can it, then, really be a question whether the declining to give an unconditional pledge to vote for the separation of Church and State, ought to disentitle a candidate to the support of Nonconformist electors? Ought it to outweigh every other consideration of personal character of independence? of fitness to represent any given constituency? of past services? For myself—I may, perhaps, unconsciously be biased by my personal interests—but I think, were I a Nonconformist, I should not feel any additional security as to the conduct of a Nonconformist candidate who gave me such a pledge, while I should certainly think less highly of a member of the Church who consented to do so. And would it be consistent with either justice or sound policy in Nonconformists to render it impossible for liberal members of the Church to represent them, or possible only by a forfeiture of self-respect? Would such a course be just, looking at the warfare the liberal members of the Church have so long waged for the relief of Dissenting disabilities? Would it be politic, looking to the future?

And now, Sir, having trespassed at greater length than I had intended on your indulgence, I will conclude with a few words—and but a few words—for nothing can well be more irksome than to speak of oneself. With reference to my position and prospects as regards the Tower Hamlets, my public life for twenty years is before my constituents and the world. I have nothing to retract; no new professions to make. I am not aware that, either in this letter or in anything I have said at any time or in any place, there is a word or a syllable inconsistent with any vote I ever gave, or any profession I ever made. No one has ever said, no one can ever venture to say, that I have broken any pledge, or departed from any principle. I have brought forward some great questions—monetary, financial, and commercial—myself; I have earnestly supported others; and I may be permitted, perhaps, without presumption to say, that the views I have stated, and the information procured by the committees I have been the means of obtaining, have not been altogether without influence on subsequent legislation. Whether I am again to have the honour of representing the Tower Hamlets is for the electors—and mainly, I am aware, for the Nonconformist electors, to decide. If they think me worthy to represent them, my best services are again at their disposal; if they think they can be better served by others—if they should think others more deserving of their confidence—then I shall retire into private life, retaining ever a grateful recollection of the trust so long reposed in me, and the consciousness that I had endeavoured, at least, faithfully to discharge the duties that trust imposed.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
WILLIAM CLAY.
17, Hertford-street, May-fair, 24th April, 1852.

ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL.—On Friday last, the ninety-fourth anniversary meeting of the above charity was held in the London Tavern, when J. R. Mills, Esq., the president, took the chair. The Report presented was most satisfactory; it commenced with expressions of gratitude "for the preserving care which has protected the orphan family during another year, by which every life has been spared, and general good health enjoyed by the children of the Orphan Working School." It also stated, that "the progress of the children in education has been satisfactory, and the master and mistress, with their assistants, attentive to their duties. Upwards of 4,000 articles in clothing and household linen have been made and marked, in addition to mending for the boys and for the house, all the work of the girls. The conduct of the children in the schools, and of the girls in the house, has been exemplary, and the entire establishment is pronounced to be in good order. An experiment, tried last year, of allowing all the children a fortnight's holiday, if their friends accept it, was found beneficial, and will be repeated this year." The auditors' Report presented the following statement:—Receipts and balance, £5,696 13s. 3d.; Expenditure, £5,149 7s. 8d.; purchase of stock, £294 7s. 6d.; balance in hand, £252 18s. 1d. A legacy of £300, by the late E. Wilcocks, Esq., of Devon, was announced. It also appears that the increase of children during the year has been 18—total increase, in ten years, 168. Number, at the present time, boys, 171; girls, 87: total, 258. The several appointments of officers were made; the Lord Mayor added to the list of Vice-presidents; thanks for past services rendered, and 25 children elected into the school. A similar number will be admitted again in November.

THE "ECLECTIC REVIEW."—The friends of the *Eclectic Review*, in Manchester, had a conference, on Thursday evening, with Dr. Price and the Rev. Dr. Stowell, in the vestry of Grosvenor-street Chapel, at which the Rev. Dr. McKerrow presided. As the meeting represented various parties of Evangelical Nonconformists, there was a general spirit of forbearance on points of difference, and a unanimous determination to promote a wider circulation of the *Eclectic* in this district. We understand, from the statements made, that the price of the review, which for many years had been two-and-sixpence, has been reduced to eightpence, and that this reduction has been followed by nearly a fourfold increase—a striking proof of the wisdom of taking a bold step in the right direction. Several practical suggestions of great value were made at the conference, which can scarcely fail, if judiciously followed, to introduce this attractive publication to large circles of readers in this region of manufacturing industry and rapidly-spreading intelligence. — *Manchester Examiner*, April 26th.

THE LATE CENSUS.—Among the sums to be voted by the House of Commons under the head of civil services, is £40,200 in the present year, on account of the census of the population. Last year £130,000 was voted.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of this association was held on Monday evening, at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street; G. W. Alexander, Esq., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, stated that letters had been received from Mr. Lushington, M.P., and the Rev. C. M. Birrell, of Liverpool, expressing sympathy with the cause of the association, and regret at being unable to attend the meeting. This (the Chairman continued) was the fourth anniversary of the Voluntary School Association; and, during the period of the existence of the society, they had had as much ground for satisfaction in its proceedings as they could reasonably have anticipated. They felt at the commencement of the work that they were engaged in an arduous task. The supporters of the society were at first but few in number, consisting of seceders from the British and Foreign School Society, in consequence of Government grants having been accepted by that institution. When they looked at what the society had accomplished during the short period of its existence, they could see no signs of discouragement. In the commencement of every undertaking, there were, of course, difficulties to be encountered, calling for special efforts to be made. This had been the case with the present society. They had had to establish normal schools—no easy task; and these schools, there was every reason to believe, were in a very efficient state [hear, hear]. They had also granted some small assistance to schools conducted upon the voluntary principle in this country, and in the West Indies. When they considered the important position occupied by a teacher, and the immense amount of influence for good he had the power to exercise, they would have ample encouragement to proceed with the work in which they were engaged. Having alluded to the conferences held last year at Crosby Hall and at Manchester, the Chairman called on

The SECRETARY to read the Report. It stated that the object of the association was, to aid all attempts to impart a sound secular education, combined with religious training, free from all sectarian bias, unassisted by compulsory payments. The committee had, out of a special fund raised for the purpose, rendered considerable assistance to schools in the colonies, which were managed by committees of various denominations, and conducted entirely on the voluntary principle. Out of this special fund, which commenced in 1850, and had been since augmented, the sum of £495 16s. 2d. had been granted to upwards of eighty schools in the West Indies connected with various missionary societies. The committee had endeavoured, by such advocacy as they could command, to grapple with existing theories at variance with the principles of the society, and with such educational measures as had been brought prominently before the public or the Legislature. Having adverted to the conferences held last year in London and in Manchester, the Report drew attention to the "obnoxious measures" of the National Public School Association, and the Manchester and Salford scheme, now under consideration of the Legislature. The progress of these measures would be carefully watched, and no exertion would be spared to place before the committee of the House of Commons all the facts and arguments of which the association was in possession, the Rev. H. Richard having consented to give evidence on their behalf. The Report then stated that Mr. Douglas Allport had been engaged as the permanent secretary of the association. **Male Normal Schools.**—The house in Kent-road had been exchanged for more commodious premises at Walworth. The Rev. G. Rogers was engaged as principal, and under his superintendence the progress of the pupils was very satisfactory. There were nine pupils in the establishment. During the past year four teachers had left, and were now located at East Dereham, Gooles, Margate, and Tipston. The committee had received many assurances of the ability and the intelligent appreciation of their work, displayed by the teachers trained in the establishment. **Female Training School.**—There were four pupils at present in this establishment, one of whom had received an invitation to a school in Scarborough, and would shortly take her departure. One of the pupils who left as a teacher about six months ago, had doubled the number of children in attendance at her school, and a second was advantageously filling a situation at Birmingham. The committee were desirous to increase the number of pupils in attendance, both at this and at the male school, as they had frequent applications for teachers, which they were unable to meet. **Grants.**—During the past year the committee had granted £121 1s. 9d. to eighteen schools in various parts of England, conducted on the voluntary principle. The financial aspect of the association was not so cheering as could be desired. At the last audit there was a balance in the hand of the treasurer of £828 17s. 11½d., which was now reduced to £561 8s. 6d., of which £301 16s. 2d. belonged to the special fund; leaving the amount for general purposes, £259 12s. 4d. The Report closed with reiterating the importance of the extension of the voluntary principle in all educational matters.

The Rev. J. B. BROWN moved the first resolution:—

That the Report now read be adopted, printed, and circulated, under the direction of the Committee; and that the gentlemen whose names have been read by the Secretary, be the officers of the society for the year ensuing, with power to add to their number.

He said: Whatever opinion he might entertain as

to certain theoretic points advocated by the association, there was one matter in which he thoroughly sympathized with it; namely, the beauty of the theory and the practice of a voluntary religious education [hear]. He could, therefore, from his own strong personal feeling, heartily move the resolution which had been placed in his hands. Within the last few years, a mighty impulse had been given to the cause of education in this country. The movement was recent in its origin; yet it could not be maintained that there was a sufficiently deep, stirring activity in the mind of the public in this great matter. No doubt the cause of education had made most rapid advances; but they were then met to declare, before the public, that it did not stand exactly where it ought [hear]. Many ideas connected with this matter were suggested by the name of the association itself. Voluntaryism he regarded as the highest name for education. The calling forth of man's voluntary activity—the self-control and self-dependence which the word "Voluntary" implied—he looked upon it as God's means for educating us as moral beings. It was satisfactory to think that we scarcely ever heard, in these days, that education was a thing to be dreaded—that the poor man did better without education than with it—that is, that he made a better serf or slave. It was true, there might be a few tyrants, in some secluded country nooks, who looked back to the days of serfdom with something of sorrow and regret; but he imagined such instances were rare. It was now beginning to be generally recognised, that the free, honest, educated, willing labourer was worth more, though he might be more difficult to manage, than the serf or the slave [applause]. The position, in point of honour and dignity of a powerful landlord in reference to his tenants and labourers, was inferior to that of the manufacturing capitalist, who was at the head of thousands of intelligent workmen, each one of whom was as free as himself to choose his calling, and to express his opinions, and who owed him no fealty except such as was involved in a relation which had been voluntarily assumed, and which might, at a moment's notice, be voluntarily terminated [hear, hear]. The highest form of social life was to be seen in that community in which each member was of importance to the other members. The intelligence and skill of the labourers reflected upon the employer; he gained while they gained by their elevation in the social scale. The reason of the apathy which existed in some pious people in this matter was twofold. First, they had an idea that there were means of educating the working classes in England—from a free pulpit, a free press, and the free converse of the workshop—which were altogether apart from, and in some degree superseded the necessity of, schools. Certainly, the child of an English workman, if he never entered a school, would be placed in a better position with regard to real education than the best educated man under a despotism abroad; but this fact was no argument against the necessity of schools for instruction, and for exercising a fertilizing influence upon the public mind [hear, hear]. Then there was another difficulty lurking in the minds of some of those who were desirous (like the members of this association) to set about the work of education in a religious spirit. They seemed to have a notion that there was a kind of rivalry between the intellectual and the spiritual faculties in man—that education, after all, was not a strictly religious work, but is a secular thing, with which a religious man, as a religious man, had not much to do; they had no perception of the ministry of man's intellect to the religious and spiritual life. They had a fear sometimes thus expressed: "Educate your people, if you will; give them a thoroughly intellectual discipline and training; and you do not make them morally better." It was, however, a mistake to suppose that there was antagonism between Christ's truth and secular truth [hear, hear]. If we believed the God who made all things, and who spoke all truth, no such collision as that could possibly arise [applause]. This was a party cry to deter from educational schemes that did not favour particular views. "The Philistines be upon thee" was the Delilah cry of Priestcraft, when the teacher went forth on his mission [applause]. But we were coming to better notions. We were beginning to see that the glory of God in creation included the blossoming of a flower as well as the path of a star; and that in the human being it included the unfolding every power and faculty of the man—that God was glorified in the well-trained, vigorous body, and glorified in the mind developed for the understanding of all truth—glorified in the whole man, not when mind and body were sacrificed to a spurious spiritualism, but when mind, spirit, and body were rightly related [applause]. The notion that by educating a man you did not do much to elevate him morally, acted as an incubus on the cause of popular education; it was an apparent truth, but concealed a tremendous lie [applause]. Take any individual man and educate him—you could not say infallibly that you would thus reform and regenerate him; but take a community of men, and you could say with certainty that they would be morally elevated by education. You cannot infallibly make an individual man healthy by making him breathe pure air; but you can do so as a general rule [applause]. There were many murders committed by men of which society could take no cognizance. You might take a human mind, and shut it up in the dark, damp cells of antiquated formularies—set it to grow beside the common sewer of tradition, which received the follies as well as the wisdom of ages into its bosom—shut it out from a free and living communion with the glorious universe which the Father had built around it; society would not say that you were killing that mind, but it was none

the less true [loud applause]. Society held no inquests over souls that died for lack of knowledge, but he believed that Heaven did [applause]; and if "he that loveth not his brother is a murderer," there would in the end be inquisition after, not the blood of bodies only, but the blood of minds and souls [applause]. The speaker then read an extract from a letter written by Charlemagne, about the year 800, respecting the spiritual benefit to be derived from the cultivation of the intellect, and dwelt on the necessity of combining religious with secular education. Religion, he said, was now beginning to mix itself up with all the great questions of society; and it would henceforth be impossible for political men to ignore its existence and its influence, for it would meet them at every turn [hear, hear]. It was of immense importance to society that its youths should be sent forth well furnished with a knowledge of the truths of the Bible, and a conviction that from these truths have been wrought out those fine-spun theories of virtue which had been paraded as the creatures of human reason [hear, hear]. Let our youths go forth with a knowledge of the great system of redemption—that there was need of redemption for man—and then Rationalism, which professed to despise redemption while it exalted itself, would be no longer a formidable enemy to the Church of the living God [applause].

The Rev. SAMUEL GREEN seconded the resolution, which passed unanimously.

The Rev. J. HOWARD HINTON moved the second resolution:—

That this meeting, whilst renewing the expression of its attachment to the principle, that education should be religious, unsectarian, and voluntary, cannot contemplate, without extreme regret and disapproval, the possible enactment by the Legislature of either of the educational measures now under its consideration—whether for systematically excluding religious teaching, or endowing and rendering it compulsory—both being, in the judgment of this meeting, fundamentally at variance with the principles of the Voluntary School Association.

There were individuals who had been pressing various educational schemes upon the Government for their adoption; not on account of any general agitation in the country, but owing to a local movement, which had commenced with some few influential persons in the North of England. Their desire was to have a secular education only, but this was much disapproved of by another party who desired that religion should be taught by Government, in the schools, in addition to secular instruction. These two parties intended to come to Parliament this year; each was endeavouring to destroy the other, and probably their fate would be that of the Kilkeny cats [laughter]. The advocates of these measures urged, that popular education was very lamentably defective. No doubt to some extent this was the case, but statements on this subject had been greatly exaggerated [cheers]. The arguments brought forward by the supporters of Government education had really often made out the case of the Voluntary principle. It had been already shown by the witnesses examined before the Parliamentary committee, that nothing was required in Manchester, in the way of school accommodation. Not a single additional school was needed; there being accommodation for 30,000 children. Then as to the number of children in attendance at school, an erroneous idea was entertained on this point also. It had been stated that there were 84,000 children in Manchester, but one-half of these were not of an age to attend school. This reduced the number to 42,000. Then it might be stated, that a tolerable average of the time of attendance was four years, and this calculation would reduce the number to 29,000, which was the actual number of children attending the day-schools in Manchester. The great design of the education rate was to induce children to come to school, but he believed if education were made free, many people would not let their children attend school. The Rev. Hugh Stowell himself had lately said the same thing, and stated that he believed it would be necessary to compel the attendance of children [hear]. A witness before the committee was asked as to this point—as to whether it was proposed to have a compulsory clause—and his answer was, "We think it might be necessary, but we don't wish to say so yet" [laughter]. Then if the rate were levied, it was true the landlords would have to pay it, but then these landlords would levy the amount on their tenants, the poor people, who would thus have to pay as much for education, or even more (for landlords would levy more than the real rate) than if they had to send their children to Voluntary schools; this had been admitted before the committee. Yet this was "gratuitous" education [laughter]. Why, the very ghost of such a bill was enough to frighten away from it the good people of Manchester [laughter]. Then as to the universal endowment principle, the absurdity of it was manifest. Things most hostile and opposite were supported out of the same funds. Let such things be allowed, let all creeds be tolerated, but don't make him (Mr. Hinton) pay for them. He now spent his money in supporting a host of gladiators (Papists, Puseyites, Swedenborgians, and men of every class) who performed antics for his amusement, but who, if they could get at each other, would run their swords into one another's hearts [cheers and laughter]. In fighting the battle of education with regard to Manchester and Salford, they were fighting the battle for the whole kingdom [hear]. They ought to exert themselves in showing that popular education was making a fair and reasonable progress; to assist in the cause of education themselves; and thus show, in the most effective way possible, the non-necessity of any Government aid, which, if rendered, would paralyze all voluntary efforts, and undo much of what had already been done in the cause of education [applause].

The Rev. J. BURNET, in seconding the resolution, said, it was now the fashion of particular members in the House of Commons to take up particular subjects to the exclusion of most others. It was our duty to watch them narrowly to see that our principles were not violated. He believed that the bills before Parliament were in direct violation of man's rights, inasmuch as it rendered education compulsory. He disliked all parochial workings, except in cases of absolute necessity. He acknowledged the desirableness of a religious education; but could not the teachers, when teaching physical sciences, show that God was in them all without infringing upon the principles of any party? [hear, hear.] This could be done effectively by an intelligent teacher, and the education might thus be made to a great extent religious as well as secular. Unsectarian education was the best and most honest kind of instruction [applause]; and that was the reason why he cordially supported the Voluntary School Association. He was decidedly against irreligious education, and at the same time he would set his face against the compulsory principle [applause].

The resolution passed unanimously.

The Rev. W. BROCK moved the next resolution—

That this meeting, deeply impressed with the duty of extending education, both at home and in our colonies, regrets that the financial position of the Voluntary School Association should render it unable more liberally to meet those claims which are now so urgently pressed upon it; and expresses its determination to use such measures as may tend to increase its funds and promote its efficiency.

He thought the advocates of the Voluntary principle now possessed a better status than they had before, for they were recognised as "the third party" in the education movement. To show the exaggerated nature of the statements that had been made respecting the want of popular education, he might mention that in a town with which he was very familiar (Stockport), containing 64,000 inhabitants, there were very few children who could not read and write and cypher [hear]. Moreover, there were but eleven policemen in the town, and the magistracy there was quite a sinecure [cheers]. It was also remarkable that there were but a very few pawnbrokers in the town [laughter]—an undoubted sign of a healthy and moral condition. These facts he had from the chief constable of the town, who attributed them to the influence of Sunday-schools on the population.

The Rev. DAVID THOMAS seconded the resolution, which passed unanimously.

The Rev. H. RICHARD then moved:—

That the thanks of this meeting be given to George William Alexander, Esq., for his continued liberality to this association; for his unwearied attention to its interests; and for the ability and courtesy with which he has presided over the present meeting.

Which was seconded by Mr. H. ELLINGTON, and unanimously adopted.

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, asked the pecuniary aid of the meeting in support of the association. He said that Mr. S. M. Peto, M.P., had promised a donation of £250 for the present year; Mr. J. Sturge, £100 (in addition to his annual subscription of £100); and several other persons, £100 each. These examples he hoped would stimulate others to a like benevolence.

The proceedings then terminated.

THREE FEMALES ATTACKED BY A SNAKE.—On Sunday evening last, shortly after nine o'clock, three young ladies were proceeding along Marsh-lane, Bootle, to the railway station, when they observed something black, apparently coiled up, lying on the road. On approaching the coil they were startled by the sudden appearance of what they describe as a large snake, which immediately sprang at one of them who was a little in advance. The animal coiled round her body, and, as may well be imagined, she screamed out in a state of the utmost terror and alarm. One of the ladies then ran away, but the other remained, and courageously endeavoured to extricate her companion. In doing so she herself was seized upon by the snake, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that she ultimately succeeded in relieving herself from the unpleasant embraces of the reptile. The ladies then ran off, their unwelcome intruder springing after them, but fortunately they were enabled to make good their retreat. One of the young ladies was slightly bitten on the ankle, but the other did not sustain any personal injury. The shock has so affected the young lady first attacked, that she is not yet perfectly recovered. The snake is described as being about two yards in length, of the thickness of a man's wrist, and its movements were accompanied by a hissing noise, such as is generally heard to proceed from animals of the snake species.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

END OF THE ENGINEERS STRIKE.—The Amalgamated Society have at length succumbed to the crushing combination of the masters. The council announce their consent to the subscription of the pledge demanded in an address deploring the necessity, formally abandoning the policy of organized resistance to capitalists by strikes, and urging the prosecution of co-operative principles as the hope of industrial redemption.

A CROMWELLIAN RELIC.—Hursley House, near Winchester, the residence of Sir William Heathcote, and once occupied by Richard Cromwell, had a narrow escape on Saturday. Some rafters near a chimney caught fire; but the building was saved.

A MAN FOR THE WORLD.—A successful merchant in New Zealand—a Scotchman—commenced business with the following characteristic entry on the first page of his ledger:—"Commenced business this day—with no money—little credit—and £70 in debt. Faint heart never won fair lady. Set a stout heart to a stay (steep) brae. God save the Queen."

THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY TESTS.

On the order for the second reading of the Universities of Scotland Bill, Mr. Scott opposed the measure (intended to abolish tests) as subversive of the character of the Scottish Universities, injurious to the Church of Scotland and to the education of the youth of that country, and as contrary to the treaty of the Union. The object of these tests was, that the teachers of youth should be imbued with religious truth, should recognise the doctrine and be subject to the discipline of the Established Church, and the present system had for a century and a half fulfilled that object. There was no valid plea for abandoning such a security for religion as well as doctrine. He moved that the second reading be deferred for six months.

Mr. MONCRIEFF (who is in charge of the measure), contended that the bill merely did away with a great practical evil—a religious test which admitted those it was framed to exclude, was utterly useless as a security, and was a scandal to the statute book. The Established Church of Scotland had no control over the Universities, which were seats of instruction, not ecclesiastical institutions, like those of England. The main, if not sole, purpose of these tests was to exclude episcopacy, and the effect of the bill was to redress an act of injustice perpetrated in 1711, when the Act of Security was violated in the matter of lay patronage. When it was urged that there should be some security against infidelity and scepticism, he answered that they were not excluded by these tests, which did at the same time keep out men of sound religious principles. They were altogether useless; of eighty professors in the Scotch Universities, twenty-four had either taken the test not being of the Establishment, or had not taken it at all. With respect to the Act of Union, the question was, whether Parliament was not entitled to sweep away tests which bind where they should not bind, and did not bind where they ought.

Sir R. INGLIS contended that Mr. Moncrieff had proved too much or nothing at all. The ground upon which he had always resisted this measure was, that to a certain body called and recognised as the Established Church of Scotland certain privileges had been secured, of which this bill sought to deprive them.

Mr. BETHELL considered it impossible to retain tests which were no security for the morals and religion of the youth of Scotland, and which, as respected their value as an imagined security, failed.

Mr. WALPOLE said the Government felt it to be their duty to oppose this bill, because, first, it was a direct violation of a fundamental article of a national compact at the union of the two countries, which ought not to be broken in upon without the strongest necessity; secondly, because its principle, once adopted, would undermine the foundations of all ecclesiastical institutions throughout the realm for the education and instruction of youth. Had the tests operated to inflict injury? Mr. Moncrieff had shown that they did not exclude competent persons; no complaint had been made in respect to the morals or the ability of those who actually filled the professorial chairs; the alteration, therefore, was not required.

Mr. ANSTEE said a few words in reply to Sir R. Inglis; and Mr. EWART argued, in reply to Mr. Walpole, that the treaty of Union had been several times interfered with; and that the change was required because the law was already violated.

Sir A. CAMPBELL observed that the modifications of the treaty of Union referred to by Mr. Ewart were provided for in the treaty itself; and contended that this bill was a violation of that solemn compact.

Mr. HUMM supported the bill: Parliament should make the institutions of the country consonant to the wishes of the people. Sir G. CLERK looked upon this as the indication of a dangerous latitudinarian spirit.

Lord J. RUSSELL was surprised at this opposition, after the full, complete, and convincing argument of Mr. Moncrieff. The opponents of the bill, whilst alleging that the retention of these tests was indispensable, pleaded that they were constantly relaxed; but this power might be capriciously exercised. The object of the tests was to exclude Episcopalians, whilst practically they admitted Episcopalians and excluded Presbyterians. A law so anomalous and absurd ought to be got rid of as soon as possible.

Mr. C. BRUCE gave his decided opposition to the bill, which tended, in his opinion, to separate religion and education, against which there was the strongest feeling amongst the people of Scotland. Mr. OSWALD admitted that this was a momentous question, but had heard no valid reason for rejecting the bill.

Upon a division, the original motion was negatived by 172 against 157—so that the bill was lost.

COLONIAL CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

The next order of the day was the second reading of the Colonial Bishops' Bill. Some opposition was made to commencing a discussion which could not terminate that day; but it was resolved to proceed.

Mr. GLADSTONE defined the object of the bill to be, that in the colonies included in the schedule and others declared by her Majesty in Council, what was called the Church of England in the colonies should be put, in regard to its own ecclesiastical affairs, on a footing of equality with all unprivileged and unestablished denominations of religion, subject to such restraints as Parliament thought fit. The bill in no respect trenching upon the rights of colonial authorities; it meddled not with religious opinions; it had no relations, notwithstanding its title, to

colonial bishops apart from the members of their communions; and its principle was to leave the colonies, subject to any restraint upon imperial grounds, to the unrestricted management of their own colonial affairs, ecclesiastical or civil, without infringing the religious liberty of members of any other communion. There were no Ecclesiastical Courts in the colonies, and it would be absurd to introduce them. The colonial bishops had powers, but they were of a bad kind, and his object was to enable parties in the colonies to frame regulations for themselves, instead of remaining, in this respect, in a state of anarchy, tempered only by that good sense which regulated the great bulk of these communities. He read various declarations from bishops, clergy, and laity, in seven or eight colonial dioceses, in favour of mixed synodical conventions for the administration of Church affairs; and, assuming that a want existed, he examined the two opinions which prevailed as to the mode in which the want should be supplied. The proposal that it should be done by a Parliamentary constitution for the Church in the colonies he repudiated; the other plan was that which he had embodied in this bill.

It being now six o'clock, on the motion of Sir J. PAKINGHAM, the debate was adjourned until the 19th of May.

EPISCOPAL AND CAPITULAR REVENUES.

The Marquis of BLANDFORD moved, in the Commons, for leave to introduce a bill to enable the Crown to regulate ecclesiastical duties, and to provide for the better management of episcopal and caputular revenues. An address to the Crown on this subject, he reminded the House, was agreed to in the previous session. His object was to make the Church more efficient for its purpose. He adverted, as proving the necessity for such a measure, to the want of episcopal superintendence, the insufficiency of church accommodation and spiritual care, and the course already taken by Parliament in the way of Church reform. There were 26 deans and 211 canons enjoying revenues amounting to £230,000 a year, and seventy sinecure livings. There were four districts in London, with a population of 166,000, and church accommodation for only one in twenty. For a population of a million there were only eleven clergy. In sixteen of the dioceses of England it was the practice for the bishops to inspect the benefices contained in them; that could only be done once in four years in some, and once in eight years in others. The noble lord then enumerated the number of churches which it was estimated were required in each diocese, in order to give accommodation to the population, and which varied from seventy-five to twenty-two. He proposed to alter the constitution of cathedral chapters and their functions—abolishing the deaneries—placing the bishop at the head of his chapter, to reside in the cathedral city, and perform the duties of the cathedral dean—prohibiting the holding of benefices in conjunction with canonries, and the suspension of all canonries which have not either a professorship or cure of souls attached. He contemplated an extension of the episcopacy by the erection of sixteen or seventeen new sees—two, Westminster and Bristol—requiring an endowment of £41,000; for which the abolition or reduction of other incomes would provide—and a further reduction of the incomes of existing sees as they became vacant, vesting the entire management of the caputular and episcopal property in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He was not proposing to take away property from the bishops. He was only proposing that the management of the general property should be made a joint concern, and he contemplated that the bishops themselves should form members of the commission; and he, therefore, did not think that the prelates of the church ought to look upon his plan with either jealousy or fear. He did not forget in alluding to the remedies for the spiritual wants of the community, that the Dissenters had done and were doing much. He believed that the country was deeply indebted to the Dissenting religious bodies. He was willing and eager to acknowledge good wherever he found it; and he fully acknowledged it in regard to the Dissenters. He was seeking to reanimate the life the Church might in some degree have lost; he was only putting into shape—the shape, perhaps, being peculiar to himself—the feelings which were widely entertained among the working clergy. He knew that there was an opinion prevalent in certain classes in the Church that the Church ought to be permitted, as formerly, to exercise deliberative functions upon subjects on which her ordained members were concerned. He himself thought that demand might in time be made with perfect justice, as he was sure such a process would be conducted with safety and to general satisfaction. He considered that if the demand had hitherto been received with suspicion, it was because the Church was in reality not in a position to make the demand; and he felt convinced that if ever it were conceded it would be when the Church became truly irreproachable, truly fulfilling the spiritual nature of her functions, and, therefore, able to address the country in a voice entitled to attention [cheers]. He hoped it would be believed that he had no party aims to effect in bringing forward this bill [loud cries of "Hear, hear"]. He cared nought by whom or what party the object was attained, so that he could find the Church made thoroughly equal to the accumulating labours to which, if she would not fall, she must now address herself, and if he could see her occupying that place in the affection and estimation of the country for which she was clearly destined by the laws and by the constitution [cheers]. And, as he viewed it, this was, indeed, a subject deserving the consideration of that House as one which could not be made

a plain for party controversy [cheers]. To a subject like this the House of Commons might be expected to turn willingly at a moment when they were about to enter upon political events, in anticipation of the significance and consequences of which all must tremble. They could turn to it, not as political opponents, but as Englishmen who were the inheritors of the blessings of a thousand years; and here, at least, they could meet in a common effort for their country's good, and in a joint endeavour for the church's honour [loud cheers].

Lord R. GROSVEHOR seconded the motion.

Mr. Secretary WALPOLE concurred in what he understood to be the main objects of the bill, but whether he could support the future stages of the bill would depend much on the details. He thought the plan defective in not providing for additional parochial clergy.

Sir R. INGLIS doubted the facts brought forward in favour of the bill, and regretted the Government had consented to its introduction. Sir B. HALL approved of the measure. Mr. HUMM also expressed his satisfaction at the introduction of the bill, though doubting the necessity for any addition to the episcopacy. Mr. COWPER and Mr. HORSMAN spoke in favour of the principle of the bill. Mr. S. HERBERT had long felt that the reform of ecclesiastical abuses was necessary to the spread of real Christianity in this country, and promised his support to the mover of the bill. After a few remarks from Sir H. VERNY, Mr. AGLIONBY, and the Marquis of BLANDFORD in reply, leave to introduce the bill was given.

REMOVAL OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

Mr. HAYWOOD then moved for a select committee to consider the propriety of preserving the Crystal Palace. He adverted to the almost general feeling of the people in favour of retaining the building, quoted from the report of Sir J. Paxton and Sir C. Fox, and explained that it was proposed to place the edifice in the hands of a trust. He pointed out how the palace might contribute towards providing that great want of London—a winter garden, and its adaptation for botanic and other lectures and exhibitions.

Mr. HUMM seconded the motion, the object of which was, he said, to promote healthy recreation, and increase the means of instructing the working classes. No grant of public money was required—all that was asked was inquiry.

Colonel SIBTHORP raised a shout of laughter, by declaring that he had kept his word, and had never entered the Crystal Palace; he wished a storm had destroyed it, and rejoiced that its demolition was at hand.

Lord J. MANNERS contended that to retain the building would be a gross breach of faith, a pledge having been given that as soon as it had served its purpose it should be removed. The building was unfitted for any permanent purpose, and the site was unsuited for an exhibition or winter garden for the benefit of the working classes. He suggested Battersea-park as more accessible, and promised if it was determined to re-erect the Crystal Palace there, that every facility should be afforded.

Mr. LABOUCHERE, as a member of the Government which gave the pledge alluded to, felt bound to resist the motion.

Lord PALMERSTON believed that most persons who had entered the palace were more impressed with the beauty of the building than with all they saw within it, and it would be a matter of deep regret, if, having served its temporary purpose, it were to be removed. He saw no reason why it should not be made applicable to future exhibitions for the amusement and instruction of the people.

Lord SEYMOUR contended that the building would never have been put up but for the understanding that it should positively come down; and, therefore, resisted the motion.

Mr. D'EYNCOURT, Mr. WAKLEY, Mr. WYLD, Mr. GEACH, Mr. CAVENDISH, Mr. MACGREGOR, and Sir R. PEEL, spoke strongly for the motion.

The House divided, and the motion was lost by 221 votes to 103.

ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

The public excitement out of doors as to the financial intentions of the Government was strongly reflected within the walls of Parliament on Friday afternoon. Some time before the hour for taking the chair, the benches on all sides were crowded; the space below the bar was filled with peers and other distinguished persons—including Lord Derby, and the leaders of the Upper House—the gallery doors were besieged by many times the number that could be admitted; and in the lobby were many eager politicians, waiting to catch the first intelligence.

At about half-past five, the House having resolved itself into committee—Mr. Bernal in the chair—Mr. DISRAELI rose and said:—

A chief branch of the revenue having ceased by lapse of time, and a considerable deficiency having consequently ensued, it would be incumbent on me, were there no other reason, to invite the consideration of the House of Commons to the state of the public finances. Of late years, commercial considerations have so mixed themselves up with the transactions and engagements of public finance, and, unhappily, political passion has so blended itself with all the topics of commercial controversy, that I feel it would be almost presumptuous in me to hope that on this occasion I should be able to engage not only the serious, but the calm and unimpassioned attention of the House, to the grave subject I am now about to bring under its consideration. But when I recollect that upon the correctness of the principles on which the finance of the country is founded must mainly depend the greatness of the realm and the happiness of the people [hear, hear], I am not altogether without hope that I may induce gentlemen on either side the House to dismiss from their minds all prejudices and prejudices, and to join with me in the attempt clearly to

comprehend the exact financial position of the country [hear, hear]. When the Minister responsible for the condition of the finances finds himself in the position to which I have just adverted—when he has to submit to the House facts which none can dispute, that a considerable source of revenue has ceased to exist, and that by its cessation there is necessarily a considerable deficiency in the public income, there is, of course, one question which inevitably occurs to every one engaged in such discussions as the present—namely, what are the soundest means—what, at the same time, is the most popular and the most practical method—or, perhaps, I ought to say on such a subject, what is the method the least unpopular, and the most practicable, by which we may supply the deficiency none can deny?

The public revenue was raised, he need scarcely say, chiefly by three methods—by duties upon foreign articles imported, by duties upon articles of domestic manufacture, and largely by a system of direct taxation. A very considerable amount of revenue was still obtained by the first method; but, looking at what had been done in the present and preceding Parliaments, he did not think that the prospect of supplying the existing deficiency from that source—that is, by increasing Customs duties—was very encouraging. Since 1842, the reduction of those duties had been systematic and continuous; its aggregate amount since 1842—the period generally, but erroneously, regarded as the inauguration of a new financial epoch—being nearly £9,000,000.

In 1842 you struck off nearly £1,500,000 of revenue from the Customs duties; in 1843 you struck off £126,000; in 1844, £279,000; in 1845, upwards of £3,500,000; in 1846, upwards of £1,160,000; in 1847, upwards of £343,000; in 1848, upwards of £578,000; in 1849, upwards of £384,000; in 1850, upwards of £331,000; and in 1851, upwards of £801,000; making an aggregate in those ten years of nearly £9,000,000 sterling [loud cries of hear, hear].

Nor had he a more encouraging prospect by having recourse to duties upon articles of home manufacture. Two opinions prevailed as to the means by which the industry of the country might be relieved: one party advocated the repeal of Customs duties; another the remission or reduction of those of the Excise. What prospect of success, then, had a Chancellor of the Exchequer whose means of supplying a deficiency of income were limited to these two sources? Even those who considered a Customs duty as the greatest of fiscal grievances had evinced during the last ten years scarcely less repugnance to raising a revenue on articles of domestic production. Whilst £9,000,000 of Customs duties had been repealed, in the same period Excise duties had been remitted to the amount of nearly £1,500,000; and only yesterday week a proposal was made by the chief of a confederacy which has exercised of late so remarkable an influence on our finances, to repeal more of those duties to the extent of £1,400,000. A finance Minister, therefore, who proposed to supply the deficiency by Customs or Excise duties would embark upon an exceedingly hopeless enterprise. But his difficulties did not end there:—

We hear a great deal in the present day, and often from gentlemen opposite, to the effect that the preferable mode of raising revenue is by what they call direct taxation [hear, from some hon. member on the Opposition benches]. I receive that cheer as evidence of the attention of the hon. gentleman, and I am honoured by it; but, I fear that when I pursue the critical investigation to which I solicit his attention, I shall not find that welcome adhesion to the principles of direct taxation which at present he seems to evince [a laugh].

During the last ten years, considerable experience had been had of the temper of the House as to this mode of raising revenue. The late Sir R. Peel introduced the Property and Income-tax apologetically, as necessitated by an emergency; he framed it upon a large basis of exemptions, and it was so modelled that the multitude should not feel the oppressiveness of the tax. It had, however, become so odious and unpopular, that it had been renewed only provisionally, and was now submitted to the critical scrutiny of a committee up stairs. As a member of that committee, he would say that they had received the amplest evidence from the ablest practical men as to subjecting incomes of a temporary and a permanent character to the same rate of assessment; but that, if their suggestions were adopted, he was sure that schedules A, B, and C would be not less odious than schedule D; and in these questions of finance the feelings of the people must be considered as well as the principles of science [loud cheers from both sides of the House]. There was another point, upon which the committee was almost unanimous, namely, that if taxation of this character was to form a permanent feature of our system of finance, it could not rest upon a system of exemptions.

No doubt that direct taxation is, in its theory, an easy, a simple, and a captivating process; but when you wish to apply that process, it is astonishing what obstacles you encounter, and what prejudices you create [“hear,” and a laugh]. In my mind—and I think, now, it is a principle pretty well accepted—direct taxation should be nearly as universal in its application as indirect taxation [hear, hear]. The man who lives in the palace, and the cottager, as consumers, are equally and proportionably assessed. It is not, perhaps, possible that by direct taxation you can effect so complete a result. Perhaps it is not necessary; but that, if your revenue is to depend mainly, or in a great degree, upon direct taxation—if it is permanently to depend upon such taxation—you must make the application of direct taxation very general, is to me a conclusion that it is impossible to withstand [cheers]. No doubt, by establishing a temporary measure of direct taxation, based upon a large system of exemptions, you may give a great impulse to industry; you may lighten the springs of industry very effectually for a time; but—not to dwell upon the gross and glaring injustice of a system of finance that would tax directly a very limited portion

of the population—looking only to the economical and financial consequences of such a system, who can but feel that in the long run industry itself must suffer from such a process? For, after all, what is direct taxation founded on a system of exemptions? It is confiscation [cheers]. It is making war upon the capital which ultimately must employ that very industry which you wish to promote [cheers].

The first memorable essay in that direction was not very encouraging. That was no reproach upon the Minister who originated it—but the last Government was obliged to go upon its knees to the House to insure it a provisional existence [laughter]; and it was now being subjected to the searching scrutiny of a committee themselves victims as well as judges [renewed laughter and cheers]. Last year they took off direct taxation at one fell swoop to the amount of £2,000,000 [“No!”]

I notice the murmuring negative of the hon. gentleman opposite. “No,” says he, “you did not lose nearly £2,000,000, for you forgot the substitute of the house-tax.” Now, were I to fix upon any subject—upon any measure—which would alarm me, if I am taught to believe that direct taxation is to be the main source to which the Minister of Finance is to look for his revenue, it would be that very substitute. The revenue of the country could not bear that rude and entire loss of nearly £2,000,000 sterling by the repeal of the window-tax. It was necessary, therefore, to have some substitute—to find some means by which the revenue should be sustained; and what did you do? You could not go to Customs’ duties in the teeth of that catalogue of exploits which I have mentioned [hear, hear]. You could not have recourse again to Excise duties, when you yourselves were bringing forward motions asking for the repeal or the reduction of those duties. You imposed a direct tax—a tax which I have always regarded as more just and less oppressive than any other form of direct taxation—I mean the house-tax [cheers]. That invaluable weapon in your financial armoury was taken down carelessly, and was used for a very inglorious result. You raised a very small revenue by your direct taxation. Out of 3,500,000 houses, following the vicious principle which pervades all our direct taxation, you touched little more than 400,000 [“hear, hear,” and cheers]; and you again practically announced to the people of this country that direct taxation is intolerable, unless it is based upon a large system of exemption [cheers].

Having recalled these facts, and induced the House calmly to survey its past career, he would now draw the moral of the story—that they should come to some definite principle to guide them in the management of their finances:—

A Chancellor of the Exchequer who is supposed to be in possession of that happy but most embarrassing incident, a surplus, is looked upon by both sides as an individual who is merely an object of prey and plunder [laughter and cheers]. In the general scramble every one wishes to obtain his purpose, and no one looks to the future [hear, hear]. No one looks to the inevitable danger that must be impending over the finances of a country where all demand relief, while, at the same time, they lay down principles which prevent the raising of taxes in any form whatever [hear, hear]. Whether it is a duty upon articles of foreign import, whether it is a duty upon articles of home manufacture, or whether it is a direct tax, the experience of ten years has brought us to this result—that the House of Commons disapproves of all three measures [laughter, cries of “Oh!” and cheers from the Ministerial benches].

He came now to consider the exact state of our income and expenditure. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer had estimated the amount of the income for the year ending the 5th of April last at £52,140,000; but the actual income was £52,468,317, exceeding the estimate by £340,000, notwithstanding a large remission of taxes:—

I think it due to the right hon. gentleman—I think (which, with all courtesy to him, is of still more importance) that it will be interesting to the House and to the country—while our experience upon these subjects is fresh, that we should trace the action of the reductions of the right hon. gentleman upon our Customs’ revenue [hear, hear]. The duty on coffee, it will be recollected, was reduced last year from 6d. per pound on foreign, and 4d. on colonial, to a uniform duty of 3d. Now this is the effect of that reduction of duties upon consumption. In the year ending April, 1851, there was an increase in consumption on the article of foreign coffee of 2,076,375 lbs.; in the year ending April, 1852, there is an increase from 2,076,000 lbs. in 1851, to 5,824,000 lbs., being an increase in 1852 upon 1851 of 3,448,000 lbs. [hear, hear.] Nor was this increase obtained at the expense of the growers of colonial coffee [hear]. In 1851 we imported 28,216,000 lbs. of colonial coffee; in 1852, after the reduction of the duty, and during that great increase of the consumption of foreign coffee, instead of 21,216,000 lbs., we have imported 29,100,000 lbs. [hear, hear.] In 1850 we imported 32,511,000 lbs. of foreign and colonial coffee; in 1851 the demand had fallen to 30,292,000 lbs.; but in 1852, after the reduction of duties, the quantity rose to 34,680,000 lbs. [hear, hear.] The calculated loss of duty was £176,000; the amount of duty really lost has been about £112,000 [hear]. It will also be recollected that the right hon. gentleman reduced the duty upon foreign timber from 15s. to 7s. 6d. on hewn, and from 20s. to 10s. on sawn. The estimated loss was £286,000; the real loss was £126,000. . . . In 1851 we imported 275,000 loads of foreign timber; in 1852, 440,000. Of colonial timber—I am speaking of hewn—in 1851 we imported 619,000 loads; in 1852, 671,000 loads. In 1851 we imported 352,000 loads of sawn foreign timber; in 1852 it amounted to 514,000 loads [hear, hear]. In 1851 we had 454,000 loads of colonial sawn, and, notwithstanding the increase in the foreign, that amounted in 1852 to 526,000 [hear, hear]. Thus, of foreign hewn and sawn, we imported altogether in 1851 only 628,000 loads; and in 1852, that is in the year just terminated, the quantity rose to 954,000 [hear, hear]. I ought to mention that there has equally been an increase upon colonial timber, the quantity (hewn and sawn) having risen from 1,074,000 loads in 1851 to nearly 1,200,000 in 1852 [hear, hear]. But while a loss, though not a very important one, was thus realised by the reduction of the duties upon coffee and timber, greatly as the consumption was increased, the

effect of the reduction of duty upon the consumption of sugar is so remarkable that I feel it right to place it before the House [loud cheers, with some laughter]. We imported in 1851, 7,200,000 cwt. of British and foreign sugar; in 1852, 7,613,000 cwt.—being an increase of 413,000 cwt. [hear, hear]. Since the alteration in 1846, the increase of our consumption has been 1,900,000 cwt. [hear, hear]. With regard to British sugar—this is unrefined only—I have the other, but I am afraid of wearying the House—in 1851 we imported only 5,093,000 cwt.; in 1852 we imported 5,207,000. being an increase in that year of upwards of 114,000 cwt. [hear, hear]. During the last six years the consumption of sugar in this country has increased by 95,000 tons, being really 33 per cent. upon the consumption of the year 1846 [loud cries of hear, hear]. The revenue on sugar and molasses was £4,163,535 in 1852, being (although we calculated upon a loss, I think, of £330,000 or £340,000) a loss upon the year of only £309 [cheers].

Thus, the Customs, estimated at £20,400,000, had yielded £20,673,000; the Excise, estimated at £14,000,000, had turned out £14,543,000; the Stamps, taken at £6,310,000, had produced £6,346,000; from the taxes, calculated to give £4,348,000, owing to the repeal of the window duties, only £3,691,000 had been received; the Property and Income tax, estimated at £5,380,000, had realised £5,283,000; the Post-office, instead of £830,000, had produced £1,056,000; the Woods, estimated at £160,000, had yielded £190,000; the miscellaneous receipts and old stores, which had been estimated at £712,000, had produced £682,000. The estimated expenditure had been £50,247,000; the actual expenditure was £50,291,000. The estimated expenditure for the current year, ending in April, 1853, was £51,163,979; viz.—

Debt and charges on Consolidated Fund..	£80,550,000
Army	6,491,893
Navy (including packet service)	6,403,000
Ordnance	2,437,000
Civil Estimates	4,189,086
Coffee War	660,000
Militia	350,000

Total

He now came to the sources of supply, and he took their respective amounts as follows:—

Customs	£20,573,000
Excise	14,604,000
Stamps	6,339,000
Taxes	3,090,000
Property tax (half-a-year)	2,641,500
Post-office	938,000
Woods	235,000
Miscellaneous	260,000
Old stores	400,000

Total income

The reduction of the sugar duties, about to take effect, would not allow him to reckon on a larger sum than that put down for the Customs. There would be no Exhibition this year to stimulate consumption, and to swell the proceeds of stage carriage and railway duties. The Excise would suffer from the diminished yield of hops. In the Post-office returns, he made allowance for the effect of the Exhibition and the census on last year's return; and for the settlement of a contested account for the conveyance of mails. Acting on information which he could not deny, he must expect a deduction of £150,000 from the Property and Income tax, on account of the depressed condition of agriculture. Altogether, there would be a deficiency of £2,180,479; and, without the moiety of the Property-tax, the deficiency then would be £4,820,000. If that tax had been continued for two years instead of one, its produce in the year ending the 5th of April, 1853, might be estimated at £5,187,000, which would make the whole estimated income of the year 1852-3, £51,625,000, and as the estimated expenditure was £51,163,979, there would be then a surplus of income over expenditure of £461,021. It appeared to her Majesty's Ministers, that the course which, under these circumstances, they should recommend—one which no prudent man, he thought, could hesitate in adopting—was the continuance of the Property and Income tax for a limited period. They would not shrink from the task of surveying the whole system of our finance, with the hope of inducing the House to come to some clear and decided opinion as to the principles on which the public revenue should be raised. It would have been far more agreeable to him to relieve the industry of the country, and to attempt a fair adjustment on right principles; but it was only six weeks that he had occupied this responsible position, and he felt that his duty was simply to place fairly before the House the condition of the public finances, and to offer the advice which her Majesty's Government had felt it their duty to tender. He concluded, amidst loud and general cheering, by moving a resolution to the effect that the Property and Income tax be continued for one year.

We need do no more than indicate the tenor of the desultory speeches that followed:—Sir CHARLES WOOD thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his very candid statement, congratulated the country on the testimony borne to Free-trade, and promised his aid in carrying the measure proposed. Mr. HUMPHREYS saw nothing to be satisfied with, as there was to be no reduction of the popular burdens; but hoped that Mr. Disraeli now reflected with remorse upon the attacks he had made upon Sir Robert Peel. Mr. T. BARKING thought Mr. Disraeli had taken too favourable a view of the results of our commercial policy during the last ten years; for he believed that, taking the results of our exports and the results of our imports, there was a serious loss. Mr. GLADSTONE was ready to let the result of that policy rest upon the speech of this evening; which would be memorable in the history of our financial legislation. Since 1842, £11,000,000 of taxes had been remitted, and, excluding the window-tax, which was not reproductive, the revenue had nearly recovered the

loss. Mr. Disraeli deserved credit for the wise and prudent course proposed. Mr. BRIGHT participated very largely in the general satisfaction inspired by the speech of Mr. Disraeli, who had acted consistently and honestly in determining to prolong the Property-tax until the House had before it the report of the committee; but strongly condemned the item for the militia. Sir J. PAKINGTON, in reply to a challenge from Mr. Bright, said he certainly was not converted to the legislation of 1846, and contended that the large importations of sugar did not arise from the reduction of duty, but from the diminished use of beet-root sugar on the continent. Mr. LABOUCHERE combated this representation, and censured the indecision of the Colonial Minister on this point. Col. THOMPSON defended the Property and even the Income-tax; he saw no injustice in taxing temporary property. Alderman SIDNEY took another view of that subject. Mr. SANDARS and Mr. C. VILLIERS spoke from opposite points of view, as to losses on the growth and importation of corn. Mr. ALCOCK said at present only 420,000 persons paid Income-tax, but if a regular plan of direct taxation were adopted, it might be levied on 6,500,000 persons, and would yield, instead of five-and-a-half millions, fourteen-and-a-half millions. Lord ROBERT GROSVENOR defended the principle of direct taxation, but regretted that no intimation had been given of an intention to remit the duty on attorneys' certificates; he should again bring forward his motion on the subject. This called up again the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, who said he was sorry to hear that the campaign against direct taxation was again to be commenced under the auspices of the noble lord [laughter and cheers]. It was from no neglect of the subject that he had not given the noble lord, who had done him the honour to wait on him with a deputation, a formal answer in the statement of this night; but he imagined that the result which he stated was in itself an answer, as in the case also of the mode of levying the spirit duties in Ireland which had been mentioned. He was really distressed that even in this session there was to be a further attempt to reduce that legitimate source of revenue, which had just been so elaborately panegyricized by the noble lord himself [laughter].

Shortly afterwards the resolution was agreed to, and the House resumed.

NEW ZEALAND CONSTITUTION.

In the House of Commons on Monday, Sir J. PAKINGTON moved—in pursuance of a recommendation in the speech from the Throne—for leave to bring in a bill to grant a representative constitution to the colony of New Zealand. He gave a brief outline of the history of the colony, and the circumstances which led to the suspension (which would cease in March, 1853) of the Constitution of 1846. He dwelt upon the progress and growing importance of the colony, observing that there was every reason why the colonies should now be entrusted with the privilege of self-government. Difficulties, however, presented themselves which distinguished this colony from almost every other dependency of the Crown, in its geographical peculiarities, the mode in which it had been settled in detached communities, the very high intellectual grade of the natives, and their extraordinary advance in civilization. Upon this last point Sir John read from the despatches of Sir G. Grey some remarkable extracts, and he then explained the scheme of the constitution proposed by the present Government, pointing out, as he proceeded, wherein it differed from that designed by Earl Grey. It was their opinion that New Zealand should be considered as one colony, and that it should be divided into seven provinces, each governed by a superintendent, appointed by the Governor-in-Chief, with a salary of £500 a year, each superintendent to have a Legislative Council of not fewer than nine members, to be entirely elective, the franchise of the electors (natives not being excluded) to be as follows:—a freehold worth £50, or a house, if in a town, worth £10 a year, if in the country, £5 a year, or leasehold property, with an unexpired term of three years, worth £10 a year. The question whether members of those provincial councils should be paid was left to the Central Legislature. Sir John read a list of the subjects, amounting to 14, upon which the provincial councils would be restrained from legislating; viz., crown lands—customs duties—the establishment of courts of civil and criminal judicature—the jurisdiction of the supreme courts—criminal courts—and criminal law, bankruptcy, and insolvency courts—weights and measures—the post-office arrangements—the erection of beacons and light-houses—the imposition of dues on shipping—coinage—crown lands—imposing disabilities or restrictions on the natives—and the rights of inheritance. The duration of the councils it was proposed to limit to four years. The central Legislature would consist of the Governor-in-Chief, as head, and of two Chambers. In the scheme of Lord Grey the Upper Chamber was to be a representative body; but there was no precedent in any colony for an elective Upper Chamber, and the present Government recommended that the members of the Upper Chamber of the Central Legislature should be appointed by the Crown during pleasure. The Lower Chamber was to be elective, the franchise for the constituency the same as that for the provincial councils. The number of members for the Upper Chamber of the Central Legislature was to be not less than 10 nor more than 16, at the discretion of the Governor-in-Chief; that of the Lower Chamber not less than 25 nor more than 40. Five years was intended to be the duration of the Central Parliament, the acts of which would override those of the provincial legislatures. It was proposed that there should be a civil list;

that £12,000 a-year should be retained, out of which the salaries of the superintendents should be paid, and that £7,000 a-year should be reserved for native purposes. All arrangements respecting the town lands to be in the hands of the general Legislature. It could not be expected that such a measure as this could be final, and clauses would be introduced into the bill whereby the local Legislature should have full power, from time to time, to enact changes in the constitution with the consent of the Crown. It was for the House to decide whether this bill came within the category of "necessary measures;" he believed it did; but if the House was of a different opinion, the alternative was, it being highly inexpedient to allow the act of 1846 to revive, to suspend that constitution for another year.

Sir R. INGLIS suggested that some provision should be made for the Church, as well as for the civil list, and that the members of the Upper Chamber should hold their position for life. Mr. GLADSTONE, believing that the bill would, upon the whole, confer a great boon on the colony, promised it his support, with the right to propose amendments to the details. Mr. V. SMITH took exception to some of the details, and asked whether the natives would be excluded from the central Legislature, and what was the nature of the settlement with the New Zealand Company. Mr. HUME thought there was no urgency in the measure, and it was not worth while, at this time of the session, to discuss it. Sir W. MOLESWORTH differed as to many of the details of the plan, but on the whole, it was by far the most liberal constitution that had been proposed.

Sir E. N. BUXTON and Mr. ADDERLEY spoke in favour of the bill; the latter, however, objecting to the Upper Chamber being composed of Crown nominees, and urging that the peculiar feature of the colony—its division into settlements—was a reason in favour of a federal government.

Lord J. RUSSELL considered some explanation necessary as to how far the Legislative Assembly was to have jurisdiction, but promised his assistance towards passing the measure.

Mr. ADELPHY urged that to give the lands into the hands of the Colonial Legislature, would be to commit a breach of faith towards the New Zealand Company. Col. THOMPSON congratulated the present Colonial Secretary on having proposed such a measure. Sir J. PAKINGTON wound up the discussion by stating that the vote for New Zealand would be reduced this year to £10,000, next year to £5,000, and after that it was expected that the colony would be self-supporting. The motion was then agreed to.

MILITIA BILL.

On the motion for going into committee on the Militia Bill, Mr. COBURN interposed an amendment, calling for returns relative to the extent and disposal of our naval force, and postponing the consideration of the bill until their production. He referred to the number of opposing petitions and public meetings, and the votes of the representatives of the largest constituencies on the second reading, as showing the feeling of the people; and contended that there was no necessity for national defence beyond what our fleet could supply. We had ships in ordinary and aloft to the number of 500. If there was danger of invasion, bring home some of our ships from the Mediterranean, and reduce the force at the other stations. He ridiculed the idea of a successful invasion against such a fleet as we could thus bring into the Channel, or that steam had given to France an advantage which, in our steam navy (Government and mercantile), we did not possess in a tenfold degree. He did not believe in the danger of war, for the whole tendency of the age was towards peace; but if the majority of the House did, then, let that force which was our legitimate means of defence, and for which the country paid so largely, be made available, instead of attempting to convert the inhabitants of this country into a military people.

Mr. ANDERSON seconded the amendment, and detailed the comparative steam power of England and France, showing that the preponderance was enormously in favour of the former.

Mr. A. STAFFORD objected to the motion as calling for information which it would not be conducive to the public interest to give. Mr. COBURN saw no reason for delaying the Militia Bill until the proposed returns were produced, especially as the information required was to be found in the Navy List. He agreed that this country should never be regarded as a military, but as a naval, nation, and that a respectable home squadron should be maintained. Mr. CARTER (the new member for Tavistock) spoke in support of the amendment. He rejoiced that the first time he had the opportunity of raising his voice in that House it was on the side of peace, and against those great and expensive establishments which had been too long kept up in this country. Captain BOLDSO saw only one object in the proposition of Mr. Cobden—namely, a delay.

Mr. BRIGHT maintained that the object of the motion was not delay, but to place before the House facts which would enable it to decide upon the expediency of any further expenditure upon our military establishments. Military establishments were opposed to the spirit of the constitution—and the proposal of the Government, he contended, was opposed to the industry, the freedom, and the prosperity of the country. He denied there was any danger of invasion; the whole conduct of France had been pacific towards us, notwithstanding the attacks which the English press had made upon the French Government, and sometimes upon the French people. As to the Dictator, the instinct of self-preservation would deter him from making any attempt against England. He believed the bill had originated with Lord Palmerston—"the Mrs. Jellaby of diplomacy"—whose desire for a militia was

natural, seeing that it would have enabled him to let loose the regular army to back his diplomacy and his interference in the affairs of foreign nations.

Mr. WHITSIDE replied to Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. No apprehension was entertained of the French people, who might be satisfied with their ruler: but it was, as declared by Mr. Pitt, in defending the Militia Bill of 1802, because the French were essentially a military power, and that power was centred in one man. He defended, with great animation, the policy of the measure, as essentially peaceful, and intended solely for self-defence.

Mr. RICE had voted against the second reading of the bill, but recommended that the amendment should be withdrawn.

Mr. MACGREGOR moved the adjournment of the House, but the motion was negatived by 291 against 68.

The motion was repeated by Captain SCOBELL, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER gave way, and the debate was adjourned until the next day.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE COUNTY VOTERS' BILL.—Early on Wednesday, Mr. CHRISTOPHER moved the first reading of his bill for allowing refreshment to county voters. Mr. ANSTAY objecting, a division was taken, which was, however, without result, only 16 members voting on one side, and 18 on the other. Mr. CHRISTOPHER postponed the bill to a future day.—The rapid entrance of members saved the adjournment of the House.

GENERAL ROSAS.—On Thursday, in reply to questions from Earl GRANVILLE, the Earl of MALMESBURY stated that no instructions had been given from the Foreign-office or the Admiralty to receive General Rosas at Plymouth with personal distinctions; but it was probable orders had been given to pass his effects without search and duty. The noble earl added that Rosas had requested permission to live in her Majesty's dominions as a private individual, and that he was in penury.—Mr. DISRAELI gave a similar answer to Mr. ROEBUCK.

SANITARY CONDITION OF THE METROPOLIS.—The Earl of SHAFTESBURY moved a resolution, calling for the immediate interposition of Government to remedy the sanitary state of the metropolis. A discussion followed, in which the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, Lord DERRY, Lord BRAUNMONT, the Earl of CARLISLE, the Earl of HARROWBY, and the Duke of NEWCASTLE engaged; at the end of which the motion was agreed to upon the word "immediate" having been expunged.

COLONEL OUTRAM'S CASE.—Mr. ANSTAY renewed his motion for papers on this subject. Mr. HERRIES resisted a motion, but promised the documents when they came to hand. Sir J. WEIR HOGG and Mr. G. THOMPSON were conspicuous.

THE CEYLON CLERGY.—Mr. TUFNELL asked, on Monday, for information of the relative position of the Bishop of Colombo and his clergy. Sir JOHN PAKINGTON said the Government had received information from Ceylon on the subject, but the correspondence was altogether of a personal and very painful nature, and no good would be effected by laying it on the table of the House. The Government, without loss of time, took such steps as the correspondence appeared to them to render necessary.

DIVISION ON THE PRESERVATION OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

AYES—103.

Adair, R A S	Greenall, G	Price, Sir E.
Aglionby, H A	Greene, T	Rawdon, Colonel
Alcock, T	Hall, Sir B	Reynolds, J
Anderson, A	Harris, B	Rice, E B
Armstrong, Sir A	Hatchell, Rt. Hon. J	Sadler, J
Baines, Rt. Hon. M T	Hayes, Sir E	Sawney, Colonel
Barrow, W H	Headlam, T E	Sanders, G
Bass, M T	Hervey, Lord A	Scholefield, W
Bell, J	Heyworth, L	Scobell, Captain
Brotherton, J	Hindley, C	Scrope, G P
Brown, W	Hughes, W B	Scully, V
Bunbury, E H	Jackson, W	Smith, J A
Buxton, Sir E N	Keating, R	Somers, J P
Carter, J B	Keogh, W	Somerville, Rt. Hon.
Cavendish, Hon. G H	King, Hon. P J L	Sir W M
Charteris, Hon. F N	Knight, F W	Stanford, J F
Clay, J	Littleton, Hon. E B	Stanton, Sir G T
Cocks, T S	McCullagh, W T	Strutt, Rt. Hon. E
Collins, W	Macgregor, J	Stewart, Admiral
Conolly, T	Marshall, J G	Stuart, Lord D
Craig, Sir W G	Matheson, Colonel	Thompson, Colonel
Crowder, R B	Miles, F W S	Thompson, G
D'Eyncourt, Rt. Hon. C	Milligan, B	Thornely, T
Duncan, G	Milnes, B M	Wakley, T
Ellis, J	Moffat, G	Walmacley, Sir J
Evans, J	Morris, D	Walter, J
Evans, W	Munday, W	West, F R
Ewart, W	Norrey, Sir D J	Westhead, J P B
Fergus, J	O'Flaherty, A	Wileox, B M G H
Foley, J H H	Paget, Lord A	Williams, J
Forster, M	Palmerston, Visct.	Williams, W
Fox, W J	Pechell, Sir G R	Wyld, J.
Freeston, Colonel	Peel, Sir E.	
Geach, C	Perfect, R	
Glyn, G C	Peto, S M	
Granger, T C	Pilkington, J	

In the majority (221) we find the names of two Radical members—John Bright and Richard Cobden; one of the members for Middlesex, Lord R. Grosvenor; and two City gentlemen, Alderman Thompson and Mr. Masterman.

BIRTH ON THE PLATFORM OF A RAILWAY STATION.—A singular circumstance has happened at the Rotherham railway station. A young married woman, who resides at Dalton, left Sheffield by the 6 30 train for Rotherham, and was prematurely seized with the pains of child-birth. Almost immediately on alighting from the train, and before she could be assisted to a waiting-room, she gave birth to a child on the platform. The mother and her infant were sent home in a cart, and are both doing "as well as can be expected."

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL.

The hopes inspired by the high-minded decision of the Tribunal of the First Instance, on the confiscation decree, are already checked. The case came before the Council of State, on Monday week, in the shape of a conflict raised by the Procureur-General, on behalf of the Prefect of the Seine, as to the competence of the courts of law in such matters. It was consequently before the *Section du Contentieux* that the case was brought. M. Baroche presided on the occasion, and the speech which he delivered in introducing the question was of the most violent description. According to the law by which the Council of State is organized, each section elects one delegate who is added to the *Section du Contentieux*, so that the number of the members of that section, and consequently the number of votes, will be fourteen. It is said that only four of the councillors who will sit in judgment on this case are opposed to the legality of the confiscation decrees, so that there can be no great doubts as to the result.

The *Gazette de Languedoc*, one of the leading journals of the South of France, was recently prosecuted for printing a seditious placard insulting the President. The verdict of acquittal given by the court is cited as a fresh instance of the hostility of the magistracy to the present Government.

The *Assemblée* publishes a full report of M. Berryer's speech in the great Orleans cause. It is a masterpiece of forensic eloquence, and sound legal reasoning. The *Patrie* has an article intended to intimidate the judges. It reminds them of their oath of fidelity to the President, and tells them that they are not at liberty to construe that oath as pledged in a general way to the chief of the State, but that they must understand it as a special pledge of fidelity to the person of the Prince. This article also talks about anarchy having fled from the streets and taken refuge on the Bench.

Colonel d'Espinasse, the high commissioner sent into the provinces to overhaul the proceedings and sentences of the military tribunals, has made a report against the exercise of any but the sparest measure of clemency in mitigation of those sentences. He reports, that in four thousand cases he is only prepared to recommend a pardon to about a hundred; and he specifies, with elaborate severity, instances in which a previous exercise of clemency had inflicted evil on the State. This report seems to be made in the strong interest of M. Maupas, the influential Minister of Police. The *Pays*, which is said to be an occasional vehicle of M. Persigny's personal opinions, inveighs against it strongly; saying, "it is absurd for one half of France to think of transporting the other half."

Thirty-one individuals condemned to transportation to Lambessa, one of whom is M. Molinier, formerly Juge de Paix, and member of the Council-General of the Department (Herauld), have been conducted to Beziers by a detachment of the 3rd Regiment of Engineers and a brigade of gendarmes. Amongst the crowd that assembled were the mothers, brothers, wives, and sisters of the prisoners, who manifested the greatest grief at their departure, and were desirous of giving them a last embrace. The spectacle is described as most heart-rending.

Abbutacci, the French Minister of Justice, has addressed a circular to the Procureurs-General, enjoining strict execution of the law which prevents workmen from exceeding the number of hours fixed for daily toil.

The Pope has given the Powers to understand that his ultimatum for arranging with Piedmont consists of these three conditions:—1. to recall Monsignor Fransoni, Archbishop of Turin; 2. to give up the Civil Marriage Bill; and 3. to pass a repressive law against the abuses of the press in religious matters. In compensation, the Pope will consent to the abolition of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which the Piedmontese Chambers have already voted. The Ministry and the Chambers of Piedmont have decided upon rejecting the ultimatum.

On the 26th ult. the powder magazine of the Bourg Dora (Turin) blew up, just when the workmen were quitting their work. The King animated by his presence the labourers engaged in suppressing the fire and extricating the workmen. It is supposed that the victims amount to 300.

Despotism has made another stride. Prussia is well-nigh even as Austria. The *Cologne Gazette* contains the following despatch from Berlin, dated the 28th inst:—"The Minister President, on the opening of the Second Chamber, communicated to it the Royal message. The first paragraph says:—'Articles 65 to 68 of the Constitution are without effect from the 7th of August.' The second paragraph says:—'Henceforward the Second Chamber will form itself after our Royal disposition.'"

The afflicted (idiotic) Prince Louis, Hereditary Grand Duke of Baden, has spontaneously (!) and for ever renounced his sovereign rights, in favour of his younger brother, Prince Frederick.

The usual telegraphic despatch of the Overland Mail was received from Trieste on Thursday. The "Adria" had arrived there on the 28th ult.; her dates from Bombay to the 3rd of April. The Burmese expedition, under General Godwin, had set sail, and was expected to arrive at Moulemein on the 4th ult. There was a considerable naval force there, and the Admiral was on his way with a vessel of war and another steamboat. The 38th Bengal N.I. had refused to embark for Burmah. The 5th Madras L.I. had been substituted.

A second expedition of 2,500 men, under Sir C. Campbell, marched against the mountain tribes to

the north of Peshawur, on the 11th of March. On the 20th they repulsed an attack made upon them by the enemy after a conflict of three hours. Sir Colin had demanded additional forces. The state of the Nizam is in *articulo mortis*; the irregularities of Baroda were increasing, and the recall of Lord Falkland was anticipated.

The arrival of the Overland Mail expands into detail the outlines of the despatch. The only additional circumstance communicated is contained in the following paragraph from the *Bombay Times*:—

The promptness and vigour of the councils of the Governor-General are said to have been chilled and damped by the Executive. It had been resolved—why, it is not stated—to place General Godwin in charge of the expedition. He was the oldest Queen's officer available, and had shared in the Burmese war in 1824—reasons sufficient, one would have supposed, why some other should have been appointed. He is said to have debated and hesitated, been averse to the sudden blow originally desired to be struck, in favour of a delay till October, and a war by land and water commenced in due form.

But there was another and a much more serious cause of delay. The Bengal Sepoys manifested the inclination to dictate to their officers, peculiar to the troops of that Presidency, and refused to embark for foreign service. This embarrassment is, however, as much to be attributed to the absurd system of enlistment peculiar to the Bengal Presidency as to the want of proper soldier-like feeling in the men themselves. The armies of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies are enlisted like the Queen's army for "general service," but only six of the regiments of the Bengal army are enlisted on these terms; the remainder, like our militia, are not liable to be ordered beyond sea, and whenever the State requires them to embark on foreign service they are "asked" to volunteer.

According to a letter from Alexandria, dated the 22nd ult., the Turco-Egyptian difference is settled. Abbas Pasha submits to the Tanzimat, but is allowed the right of life and death for seven years.

By her Majesty's ship "Amazon," Captain Barker, which arrived at Spithead on Thursday morning, from the Cape, we have five days' later intelligence. The "Megara" had not arrived at that date, nor had her Majesty's steamer "Hydra," with Major-General Cathcart on board. The "Amazon" brings the survivors of the loss of the "Birkenhead."

The Caffres had partially ceased hostilities and had sued for peace, but the terms offered them by Sir Harry Smith not being accepted, he was preparing for a combined movement on the 8th of March, when he intended to cross the river Kei with the whole of the levies. The *Cape Town Mail* says:—

From a private source of information we are informed that Colonel Mitchell's party on patrol in the Amatola had been successful in dispersing or destroying a considerable number of Hottentots, who are described as having been encamped in a retired position. Twenty-six of these men were killed by the party under Colonel Mitchell, and the rest fled and concealed themselves in the bush. This place was presumed to be the headquarters of the rebel Nithalder. Colonel Eyre was in pursuit of some considerable droves of cattle. The friendly chiefs continued to deliver up small lots of the enemy's cattle. A report was current in Cape Town that Riebeck, where there is a post with about forty men, had been attacked by a very numerous body of Kafirs, and that the men had taken refuge in the church. The Dutch barque "Juno" had been lost, and five passengers drowned, off L'Agulhas, on the 2nd of March.

By the ship "Agincourt" we received intelligence to the 10th of March, and by the "Maidstone" to the 17th. Nothing of importance had occurred. Correspondents make no mention of the Megara or the Hydra. The Legislative Council had voted £500 towards the relief of the sufferers from the loss of the Birkenhead. Sir Harry Smith was to have taken the field on the 8th of March in person. A considerable number of Burghers were expected to join. He had heard of his recall, but it had not altered his plans.

The United States Senate lately adopted a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Navy to "communicate his opinion of the expediency of a reconnaissance of the routes of navigation in the Northern seas, and in the China and Japan seas, and whether any vessels belonging to the service can be used for that purpose; and, also, what would be the expense of such a reconnaissance." The Secretary's reply states, that in 1849 and 1850 more American seamen were engaged in that small district of ocean than are employed in the whole navy at any one time, and that in these two years these hardy mariners fished up from the bottom of the sea the value of more than eight millions of dollars. Owing, however, to the dangers of the land and ice, the hidden rocks and unknown shoals, one vessel in every twenty that went out therein during the summer of 1851 has been left behind a total wreck. The entire fleet of whalers in the Arctic Ocean complain much that charts are wrong, that the coast is badly explored, but little known, &c. The Indians are very friendly, and want to trade. The whalers frequently went on shore. Captain Taylor brought specimens of ores of metals from the Arctic shores; and obtained information from the natives of the existence of gold among them, as also iron. When shown implements of various kinds, they gave him to understand there were plenty in the mountains. Such also was the case with gold. The secretary, therefore, strongly recommends the expedition, but adds that it will cost, for new ships, 125,000 dollars.

The following is an extract from a diplomatic novelty—a letter addressed by the President to the Emperor of Japan:—

I send you by this letter an envoy of my own appoint-

ment, an officer of high rank in his country, who is no missionary of religion. He goes by my command to bear to you my greeting and good wishes, and to promote friendship and commerce between the two countries. You know that the United States of America now extend from sea to sea; that the great countries of Oregon and California are parts of the United States; and that from these countries, which are rich in gold and silver and precious stones, our steamers can reach the shores of your happy land in less than twenty days. Many of our ships will now pass in every year, and some, perhaps, in every week, between California and China; these ships must pass along the coast of your empire; storms and winds may cause them to be wrecked on your shores; and we ask and expect from your friendship and your greatness, kindness for our men and protection for our property. We wish that our people may be permitted to trade with your people, but we shall not authorize them to break any law of your empire. Our object is friendly commercial intercourse, and nothing more. You may have productions which we should be glad to buy, and we have productions which might suit your people. Your empire contains a great abundance of coal; this is an article which our steamers, in going from California to China, must use. They would be glad that a harbour in your empire should be appointed to which coal might be brought, and where they might always be able to purchase it. In many other respects, commerce between your empire and our country would be useful to both. Let us consider well what new interests may arise from those recent events which have brought our two countries so near together; and what purposes of friendly amity and intercourse this ought to inspire in the hearts of those who govern both countries.

The royal mail steamship "Africa" brings news to the 21st ult. The New York papers state that expeditions in search of gold were all the rage throughout the United States and Canada, and that companies were organizing in St. John, New Brunswick, and Halifax, Nova Scotia, for the purpose of proceeding to Australia forthwith.

THE DANISH SUCCESSION.—The first Conference of the Plenipotentiaries, appointed to settle this important question, was held on Wednesday at the Foreign-office, London. It was attended by the Ministers of all the Powers who signed the former protocol on the subject, with the addition of the Prussian Minister. The proceedings were of a purely preliminary nature, but it is understood that a second conference will shortly be held, at which the question will be fully entered into.

THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY.—The Hungarians are not a whit discouraged by the apparent hopelessness of their position, but remain firm to their original opinion that the plans of Government for securing the unity and indivisibility of the Empire by Germanizing the different nationalities will never succeed. Though the Slavonic races are at present less prominent in this matter than the Magyars, I am well assured that the discontent is as general in the Croatian, Slavonian, and Servian districts, as in those inhabited by Hungarians.—*Times Correspondent*.

SPURIOUS RELICS.—Several communications to our literary journals, particularly to *Notes and Queries*, have proved how little reliance is to be placed upon the traditions repeated by vergers and guides to wondering lionisers. Archaeologists seem to show that there is not only nothing new under the sun, but that there is also nothing true under the sun. At Warwick Castle the rib of the dun cow is ascertained to be a bone of a fossil elephant, and Guy's porridge-pot a military cooking utensil of the time of Charles I. St. Crispin's chair, carefully preserved in Linlithgow Cathedral by insertion in the wall, is of mahogany,—an American wood! The chair of Charles I. at Leicester bears a crown, which, having been the fashionable ornament after the Restoration, together with the form, betrays the date. Queen Eleanor's crosses, it now appears, were not built by her affectionate husband, but by her own direction and with her own money. The curious bed treasured up near Leicester as that occupied by Richard III., immediately before the Battle of Bosworth, is in the style commonly called Elizabethan. Queen Mary's bed at Holyrood is of the last century; and her room at Hardwicke is in a house which was not erected till after her death.—*Weekly News*.

STRYCHNINE AND BITTER BEER.—In consequence of the assertion of M. Payen, the distinguished French chemist, that the strychnine manufactured to so large an extent in Paris was most probably forwarded to England for the use of our brewers of bitter beer, Messrs. Allsop, of Burton, have engaged the professional services of Professors Graham and Hoffman to inquire into the real condition of their beer. These gentlemen have since issued a report, in which they state that, after the most minute test of upwards of twenty specimens of Messrs. Allsop's ale, taken from various stores and places, in no instance was the slightest evidence of the presence of strychnine discovered. During the progress of their inquiry, they have discovered a means whereby a quantity of strychnine as small as the one-thousandth part of a grain may be tested and recognised at once.

A FAVOURITE TEA-PLANT.—Mr. Fortune, in his interesting work upon China, gives a picture of a mandarin and his favourite pny which will speak to the heart of many a British horticulturist. In the gardens of the mandarins the tree-pny frequently attains a great size. There was one plant near Shanghai which produced between 300 and 400 blooms every year. The proprietor was as careful of it as the tulip-fancier is of his bed of tulips. "When in bloom it was carefully shaded from the bright rays of the sun by a canvas awning, and a seat was placed in front, on which the visitor could sit down and enjoy the sight of its gorgeous flowers. On this seat the old gentleman himself used to sit for hours every day, smoking pipe after pipe of tobacco, and drinking cup after cup of tea, while all the time he was gazing on the beauties of his favourite 'Mou-tan-wha.' It was certainly a noble plant, and well worthy of the old man's admiration.

The scheme of forming an Irish colony in Andalusia, is, it would appear, to be carried into execution, a board having been appointed to that effect.

From its extensive circulation—far exceeding most of the journals of a similar character published in London—the *Nonconformist* presents a very desirable medium for advertisements, especially those relating to Schools, Books, Articles of General Consumption, Situations, and Appeals for Philanthropic and Religious Objects. The terms are low:—

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A Country Subscriber" wishes us to publish a supplementary number of the *Nonconformist* once a week, or fortnight, "gratuitously," for the benefit of our subscribers, who, like himself, have not the privilege of attending the May meetings. Our correspondent would seem to be in a state of happy ignorance of the cost of "gratuitous" numbers, and of the difficulty of bringing them out. We do not know the names of all our subscribers, and, consequently, should be unable to determine whether papers supplied to newsmen "gratuitously," were for them or not. Can "a Country Subscriber" help us out of the difficulty? We were in the habit of issuing extra numbers some years ago, and charging them to subscribers, but the plan appeared to meet with so little approbation that it was abandoned. We must suppose, therefore, that the bulk of our readers do not specially desire lengthened reports of the May meetings. We have, therefore, in preference, adopted the plan of publishing an occasional second edition with extended reports, which are considerably curtailed for our ordinary issue—thus meeting the views of both parties.

"J. R." We believe the twelve lessons in French published by Mr. Cassell, will answer his purpose.

"W. H. Herford" has written in too bitter a strain to secure for his communication the sympathy which, perhaps, the subject of it demands.

"J. Moreton." We must decline opening our columns for the settlement of disputes originating in other papers.

The Nonconformist.

SUMMARY.

THE grand Parliamentary topic of the week just ended, is the budget, always a subject of peculiar interest to Englishmen. Our readers will have heard long before now of the good things which Mr. Disraeli has offered them—namely, nothing in the way of remission, and something considerable in the way of increased expenditure. We have to pay a large sum on account for the operations of the Kafir war. We have to reserve also something for the new militia, that is, if Parliament finally sanctions the organization of such a defensive body. And, in order to make our income square with our expenditure, we must consent to the re-enactment of the Property-tax Act for the further period of one year. It might have been anticipated that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon whom devolved the unwelcome task of making these announcements, would be overwhelmed in consequence, with an outburst of disapprobation. Mr. Disraeli, however, contrived to perform the undertaking in such a manner as to excite general pleasure, and elicit almost universal applause. The magic by which he effected this unexpected and marvellous feat consisted in a skillful selection of his position, and a simple but truthful use of the materials before him. He chose to be a Protectionist minister, giving a lucid account of Free-trade successes. He went over the several principles of taxation against which he and his party have protested for many a year, and he showed, by facts and figures, how largely they had contributed to the prosperity of the country. He stepped aside more than once to point out remarkable illustrations of the fallacies he had been wont to urge upon the adoption of Parliament. He proved satisfactorily that he was shut up to a continuance of the same fiscal policy. In a word, he justified, by an irresistible array of evidence, the course which his predecessors had taken, and exhibited to both sides of the House the wonderfully beneficial results of Free-trade. Having done this with as quiet a complacency as if he were detailing the triumphs of his own policy, he asked the House to grant him a renewal of the Income-tax, to which the House most cheerfully assented. We know not whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer's success was most owing to his skill or to his effrontery. Certain it is, that without a considerable

measure of both he would have been doomed to witness the strangulation of his first budget.

Nor was this the only triumph of the Derby Administration in the House of Commons last week. Sir J. Pakington, the Colonial Secretary, has produced his promised measure for giving constitutional government to the colony of New Zealand. True, in this instance, as in that of the budget, Ministers are indebted chiefly to the labour of their predecessors, and can only reap the praise of willingness to help on good which they did not originate. We shall not describe the measure in this place. We think it, on the whole, a valuable one—the few flaws in it being those which are produced by a pedantic adherence to inapplicable precedents. Sir John Pakington made out, we think, a sufficient justification of himself for introducing the measure during the present session. It underwent some friendly criticism on the part of those members who take the deepest interest in colonial matters; but, on the whole, it met with a very favourable reception, and may be said to have elicited the general approval of the House. Whether it will be pushed through its various stages before the expiration of the present Parliament, appears doubtful, but there can be little question that at an early period it will substantially receive the entire sanction of the Legislature.

The Militia Bill, we hope, is not likely to be so fortunate. The object of it appears to be so uncalled for, and the provisions of it so clumsy and absurd, that it is destined to meet with many impediments in its passage through the House, notwithstanding the large majority by which its second reading was carried. On Monday night, for example, on the motion that the House go into committee on the bill, Mr. Cobden interposed an amendment, to postpone all further proceedings in the matter until certain returns relating to our naval force were laid upon the table of the House. His telling speech provoked the ire as usual of some of the professional members, but he was well seconded by Mr. Bright, who most felicitously pictured Lord Palmerston as the Mrs. Jellyby of the political world. Mr. Whiteside replied in a speech of considerable animation, but more remarkable for sarcasm and declamation than for apposite facts or cogent arguments. The debate is adjourned. We can hardly regret the time expended in opposition to this most mischievous measure. The oftener it is discussed, the more delusive does it appear. We hope even yet that it will not survive the ordeal of a committee; and if constituents would only ply their members with earnest remonstrances, we believe the country might be spared the infliction of this pernicious bill.

Coming now from measures propounded by the Government to motions submitted by individual members, we must content ourselves with a bare mention of what has been attempted, interposing here and there such cursory comment only as the subject imperatively demands. Mr. Locke King's bill for conferring the county franchise upon ten-pound householders, was but briefly discussed and decidedly rejected—the Chancellor of the Exchequer seizing the occasion to throw out a vague and mysterious hint, that what the constitution requires in the way of amendment is a fuller representation, not of the middle, but of the industrial, class. Mr. Moncrieff's bill for abolishing tests in the Scotch Universities has been thrown out chiefly on the ground, that though useless and inoperative, they are necessary to the exclusive dignity of a Church Establishment. Mr. Gladstone's measure for giving the right of self-government to the Church of England in the colonies, is yet, as it were, under debate. We shall have more to say on this subject hereafter. The motion of Mr. Heywood for the preservation of the Crystal Palace was unsuccessful. The genius of Colonel Sibthorp has prevailed. Lord John Manners and Lord Seymour, conscientiously scrupulous in keeping faith, have persuaded a majority not to be released from a previous engagement with the public, notwithstanding that the public earnestly prayed them to consider themselves unfettered. The first noble lord has thus given a practical illustration of his own juvenile couplet:—

"Let laws and learning, arts and commerce die,
But give us still our old nobility."

The aristocracy, to whom we owe this demolition of one of the most splendid monuments of British architectural skill and taste, have done but little thereby to quicken in the public mind sympathy with their order.

The Church at home as well as in the colonies has come in for a share of Parliamentary attention. The Marquis of Blandford, in a speech of considerable length, pervaded by a spirit which we cannot but admire, has given the outline of a measure of Church reform, which evidently aims at bringing the Establishment into a better working state than it is now able to boast of. He wishes to suppress sinecure dignities, and, by means of the funds placed at his disposal, largely to increase the episcopal staff. No doubt he means well—but even for a measure of reform, he is beginning at the

wrong end. More bishops are not so imperatively called for as a better paid working clergy. Mr. Walpole allowed the bill to be introduced, that the country may have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with its provisions. But there is little prospect, we imagine, of its being able to win for itself further success, either in this or in any future Parliament.

The House of Lords has been idle, with the exception of a single evening devoted to listening to a speech from Lord Shaftesbury on the necessity of sanitary reform, and a reply from Lord Derby giving, as some will interpret it, "the cold shoulder" to the subject. For our own part, we think there is much truth in many of the Premier's observations, and that philanthropic legislation needs discouragement rather than stimulus, at the present moment.

The foreign intelligence of the week is particularly scanty, and, such as we have, is scarcely deserving of comment.

THE VALUE OF A SHOCKING BAD CHARACTER.

POOR, simple, gullible John Bull! We know not whether to laugh or to sigh at the ease with which his pocket is picked by dexterous political conjuration—at the combination of muddle-headedness and kind-heartedness with which he will turn round and say, "Thank you, sir," to the ingenious and light-fingered artist who has eased him of his purse. At the commencement of the present session we were all congratulating ourselves upon the possession of a surplus amounting to upwards of two millions sterling. We took it for granted that the then existing Government, having an opportunity, would also, seeing that Parliament was just about to expire, be moved by a disposition to present us for once in a while with a popular budget. Various interests, of course, were pleasing themselves with an expectation that the remission of taxes, to which all looked forward, would most likely fall to their share. It seemed in the highest degree improbable that the tax-eating party would be able to find any colourable pretext for withholding from the tax-paying community a fair share of the surplus revenue. The old Whig Government could not have done it. But they retired from their posts, after advising her Majesty to fill them with new men professing political, economical, and commercial principles, which the bulk of the people regarded with alarm. This done, rumour was busy in circulating frightful reports of the changes which the new Administration meant to attempt. We had before us the gloomy prospect of irreparable damage to our commerce, paralysis to our manufacturing activity, stagnation of trade, popular discontent, and, possibly, violent insurrection. All these fears have been quieted. Our excited imaginations have been soothed. The Government turns out to be far better in actual policy than in previous profession. "Things as they are," says the Chancellor of the Exchequer—"things as they are," respond the House of Commons, with acclamations of grateful surprise. Meanwhile, we have lost our surplus, we have gained a renewal of the Income-tax, and we find ourselves, each going home with a sort of misty consciousness that he has been bamboozled, but each according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer the praise of consummate statesmanship.

The virtue of things done depends much upon the doer. The act which we regard as an unbecoming liberty in one man, we accept with gratitude as a condescension in another. It would seem that the way to political distinction in England, is to begin by denying everything reasonable, and to end by admitting that nothing was unreasonable but your own conduct. To have passed one's life in attempting to break through all the fences of wisdom and experience, merely that he may be able to say at the conclusion of it, how utterly vain, and worse than vain, was the attempt, is the shortest method and the surest, of obtaining rank in the order of statesmanship. A trivial remark dropped from the lips of one who has long been reputed as idiotic, makes a profounder impression than the wisest maxim uttered by another who, through life, has given consistent proof of superior intelligence. A shocking bad character is sometimes a moral instrument of great power—for he who was expected to behave to you like a brute, has only to become ordinarily civil, in order to "win golden opinions from all sorts of men." This seems to be the secret of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's successful *début* on Friday night. He gave us a speech—he took from us our surplus—he reimposed upon us the Income-tax—and we were all ineffably delighted. The budget, viewed in itself, amounts to just nothing. What has been, is to be—the same taxes, the same expenditure, with the addition only of a little bill for the Kafir war, and a reservation in favour of the Militia, Customs, Excise, Property tax, Stamps, Post-office, Crown lands, Miscellaneous—not one of them is to be touched. No remission is proposed—no addition is hinted at. The

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genius of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer has simply been exercised in the discovery of his own previous mistakes. His merit consists in the statement of facts which he cannot deny, and in producing proofs against his own theory which would have been produced for him had he withheld them. With smiling effrontery he says to his antagonists, "I am dead beaten"—whereupon, they throw up their caps, clap their hands, and tell him that he is a much better fellow than they took him for. Still, we must not forget the fact in which we are most interested—namely, that the surplus two millions which we almost had in our pockets, have mysteriously disappeared.

The triumph of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Friday night, was that of having made a speech which took his audience by surprise. It was not eloquent—it displayed no stretch of intellect—no comprehensive grasp of the matter in hand—no profound insight—no magic power of persuasion. It was a simple and lucid statement of facts, which owed their existence to no advice of his, and which would never have been if he and his party could have prevented them. It might have appeared as an essay on "the state of our finances" in any one of the newspapers, daily or weekly, metropolitan or provincial, without exciting surprise or eliciting a single expression of admiration. But in the mouth of the right honourable gentleman it was an instrument of mighty power. It was like the surrender, by a commander-in-chief, of the sword with which he has fought his way to fame—a trivial incident in itself, but calculated to awaken strong emotions. We know not that we have a right to find fault with the temper with which that speech was received by the House; for in all departments of life, the confession of a fault oftentimes receives more consideration than the uniform practice of virtue. A reformed drunkard is listened to on the subject of intemperance with more respect and attention than one whose whole career has been unsullied by a single instance of inebriety. It is well for the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he had given the world abundant occasion to think meanly of his economical principles—for it has fared with him as it does with a speaking doll, which, although it utters but a single word, and utters it no better than any child could have done, produces rapturous delight, simply because a child may be expected to articulate, but, from a doll, one well-pronounced word is little less than a miracle.

Of course, we are all glad to let things remain as they are, and all are disposed to think better of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. Nevertheless, it is a little mortifying to a great people to be placed under a system of government, or, perhaps, we may more correctly say a class of governors, which makes a career of egregious blundering an introduction to high celebrity for statesmanship. In common life, we have but few analogous instances of this. Those to which we have already adverted have regard to a change in character, rather than in intelligence. But we do not ordinarily advance to those posts of duty which pre-eminently require a clear intellect, and a familiar acquaintance with sound principles, men who have given repeated proof of being desperately wrong-headed, and then esteem ourselves fortunate that they do not practise against us all that they have threatened. It is only in the affairs of Government that any such anomaly as this is tolerated—and we shrewdly suspect that it is possible in this sphere only because the people are excluded from a fair share in the conduct of their own affairs.

We will not, however, conclude our remarks with an ill-natured reflection. In common with most of our countrymen, we accept the Chancellor of the Exchequer's budget for what it indicates, rather than for what it is. The contest for Free-trade is over. The Protectionists have given in. The principles upon which our commercial and fiscal policy is based are now secure from the rash intermeddling of mere partizanship. We shall scarcely need an autumn session for settling the controversy between the landlord interest and the rest of the community. It is already settled—and Mr. Disraeli's speech on the introduction of his budget may be regarded as the document, "signed, sealed, and delivered," which agrees that henceforth, Free-trade in this country shall be allowed to develop all its virtues without molestation.

ENGLAND'S YOUNGEST DAUGHTER.

JUST on the other side the globe—the inhabitants having their feet to our feet, as we were told at school—lie two islands, of irregular oblong shape, stretching from the 35th to the 47th degrees of south latitude; each some five hundred miles long, and separated by a strait, now designated by the name of the great circumnavigator who snatched those parts from the obscurity of their native waters. It is a peculiarity of these islands, that in the centre of each is a lofty mountain ridge, sending out spurs or fingers of uninhabitable hilly land, and effectually enclosing the intervening spaces. It is in these valleys, some of them singularly beautiful, combining the rugged

grandeur of Scottish scenery with the softness of this southern clime, that Europeans and natives have their joint abode. The latter are remarkably unlike the indigenous inhabitants of Australia and the Polynesian isles. Eight years ago, it was written respecting them, "The great majority can read and write their own language fluently—they are equal in natural ability to the mass of the European population—they are jealous and suspicious—they own many vessels, horses, and much cattle—are altogether possessed of a great amount of property, of the value of which they are fully aware—there is no nation in the world more sensitive upon money matters, or less likely to sit quietly down under injustice." It was in 1808 that the first missionary carried to their shores the seeds of civilization. The desultory visits of unprincipled traffickers engrafted the vices of the Old World upon these quick-witted children of the New. In 1840, the islands were annexed to the British Crown, and the terrors of aboriginal insurrection had to be endured ere that purpose was accomplished. In 1846, a constitution was sent out, which appeared to the Governor (Sir G. Grey) better adapted to inflame than conciliate the native, without consolidating the European population; he returned it to the Home Government with the expression of that opinion, and in the following year, an act of Parliament suspended the constitution of New Zealand.

It is now proposed to renew the gift of self-governing institutions. In March, 1853, the Suspension Act expires; and it would then be necessary either to prolong the suspension, to construct a new scheme, or to permit Earl Grey's constitution to take effect. The lapse of time has rendered the latter even more ill-adapted to the circumstances of the country than it originally was. Its fatal defect is the exclusion of natives from the civil powers conferred on Europeans. The improvement of the aboriginal race has kept pace with the increase in the number and wealth of the settlers. The latter have risen from 17,000 in 1848, to 27,000—the value of exports from £44,215 to £115,414—the revenue from £48,689 to £57,743; of the latter, £5,000 additional arising from the sale of land, and £4,000 from Customs—while the expenditure, both local and imperial, has considerably decreased. The Colonial Minister has done wisely, then, in our judgment, in acting without delay upon the intention of his predecessor to present to the British Parliament a second constitution for this remote, romantic, and flourishing dependency.

The following are the outlines of Sir John Pakington's scheme. It creates six provinces—New Plymouth, Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury, Nelson, and Natal; each province to be under a superintendent, appointed by the Crown, and paid £500 a-year, and to possess an elective provincial council; the franchise to consist in the possession of a freehold worth £50 a-year, the occupation of a house worth £10 a-year, if in a town, or £5 a-year if in the country, or of leasehold property worth £10 a-year—natives, equally with Europeans, being open to this qualification. The payment of members of provincial councils is left to their constituents. Such is the municipal polity provided for each of the six provinces, physically separated, as we have said above, and inter-communicable in some instances only by a footpath across the hills. The federal Government will consist of a Governor, appointed, of course, by the Crown—a Legislative Council, nominated by the Governor, and a Legislative Assembly, chosen on the same franchise as the provincial councils. The acts of the district legislatures will be subject to confirmation or rejection by the Governor. The duration of the federal legislature is fixed at five years—the number of members in the upper chamber, not less than ten, nor more than fifteen; in the lower, not less than twenty-five, nor more than fifty—the duration of the provincial councils four years, and the number of their members not less than nine, the Governor having power to add thereto. The management of the Crown lands, the imposition of custom duties, the establishment of new criminal courts, the currency, weights and measures, and some other subjects, are reserved to the action of the central legislature, as in other federations. Except that the Governors and upper chamber are non-elective, the constitution of New Zealand will, therefore, strikingly resemble that of the United States.

The scheme is not without defective or even positively objectionable points. The present Governor is a liberal-minded as well as a vigorous ruler; and, had his advice been taken, the constitution would have been better than it is. But another man may use the power of nomination, of electoral division, and of creating additional seats, to the nullification of the functions he should protect. The fixing of the civil list is simply a provision for perennial dissension between the colony and the mother-country. The alleged lien of the New Zealand Company on the land of the colony should not be allowed to pass without scrutiny. That

there are no ecclesiastical clauses in the draft is a merit, but one that Sir R. Harris Inglis may contrive to annul. In short, with all credit to the Government at home and in the colony for good intentions, it will require all the vigilance and firmness of consistent Liberals to render the skeleton constitution such a framework as shall readily receive the investiture of flesh and nerve, the inspiration of rude health, from this youngest and not least promising of England's daughters.

THE GOLD COUNTRIES.

A writer, whose letter is dated from Melbourne, Port Philip, December 21, says:—

I have cross-examined numbers of labouring men, on whom I can depend, have seen their earnings at the mines, and have come to the conclusion (and which is confirmed by those who have resided up there among them to purchase extensively), that a fair working man can make full £1,200 a-year on the ground, clear of his expenses at the present rate of food: that nine out of ten will do this readily, and some few here and there much more. Men have made as much as £10,000 in two months, four men dividing about £40,000. When hundreds of thousands of mere labourers can do this, imagine the magnitude of the effects to be produced on the world.

The mines he represents to be inexhaustible for centuries. Nevertheless, he expresses his own desire to escape from the land of gold as soon as possible, as he is entirely left without any servant, obliged to groom his own horse, whilst his wife acts as cook and housemaid and nurse—in short, as maid of all work. He was himself offered 15s. a-day to act as cook to a party of miners! He adds:—"Our poor Bishop, Governor, and, indeed, every one looks fagged and worn to death."

From California we have news to the 17th March. The most important part of the news is the great freshet in the interior, caused by rains, the loss of property, and the incidents connected with it. From the 28th of February to the 10th of March inclusive, the number of passengers arrived in San Francisco by sea, was 1,424—of whom 1,260 were men, 133 women, (!) and 41 children. Of this number, 422 left for the United States, via Panama and San Juan. This shows an increase of 915 in the population in thirteen days. In addition, two of the largest steamers—the "Tennessee" and the "North America"—were hourly expected with upwards of 1,000 persons.

On the 18th of March, the United States mail steamer "Northerner" arrived at Panama with 1,200,000 dollars of gold dust (of which 213,973.74 dollars are for England), and about 250 passengers; she brought news on "undoubted authority" of the discovery of immense tracts of gold in British Oregon, near Queen Charlotte's Sound; the Americans from California were "pouring in like bees."

MARRIAGES IN HIGH LIFE.—The *Morning Post* records at great length, and with as much enthusiasm as is in its nature, the nuptials of the Lady Leveson Gower, daughter of the Duchess of Sutherland, to Earl Grosvenor, son of the Marquis of Westminster, on Wednesday, at St. James's Chapel Royal. Her Majesty condescended to grace the proceedings as a spectator, and bestowed a diamond stomacher on the bride. Admiration was divided between the "exquisitely beautiful" bride, and her almost equally beautiful mamma. At the breakfast—to which 160 sat down—to the ever-eloquent Earl Carlisle was confided the toast of the day. "When we look (said his lordship), at the bride and bridegroom on the present happy occasion—the manly presence and the high-bred bearing, and the calm gentleness and beauty, which have this day been united in the holy bonds of matrimony, I think we may fairly consider them an indication of the spirit within, and the mirror of their future destinies. Let us drink to the health of Lord and Lady Constance Grosvenor." On the same day, the marriage of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn and Miss Williams Wynn, daughter of Sir H. and the Hon. Lady W. Wynn, was celebrated at St. James's church. An *O'westry* correspondent informs us that great rural rejoicings took place in that neighbourhood on the occasion.

TERRIBLE FIRES.—An immense fire, ascribed to an incendiary, has destroyed half the village of Harwell in Berkshire. Eight or nine farm-steadings have been destroyed; two farm dwelling-houses, four houses with shops, and thirteen cottages, swept away; two dwelling-houses, three cottages, some almshouses, and a public-house, damaged; and altogether, thirty families been deprived of their homes. A vagrant had been refused alms on the afternoon of Saturday; with an oath, he "wished the village burned down," and subsequently he begged some lucifer-matches at a cottage. Soon after this, at about evening dusk, the fire was discovered; it seemed to commence at several points at once; there was a strong wind, and the flames soon became unconquerable by the rural engines. Mr. Whiteher, a London detective, has gone to Harwell to make inquiries. —On Friday week some labourers employed in Holme Fen, in Huntingdonshire, set fire to a quantity of "sedge," a strong reedy grass which grows in the fen, for the purpose of clearing some land; but the flames rapidly spread over other parts of the fen. It was not till Monday that the fire was conquered, after ravaging land seven miles long by half a mile to a mile wide. Growing crops of grain and potatoes, and immense piles of "turf," were destroyed. The loss by the destruction of the crops alone is computed as high as £20,000.

SECOND EDITION.

BRITISH ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

The annual meeting of this body was held yesterday morning, at eleven o'clock, at the rooms of the Association, 41, Ludgate-hill. S. Courtald, Esq., of Braintree, was called to the chair. He opened the business with the remark that the labours of this organization had already impressed the public mind with the axiom that a State Church is necessarily hostile to religious liberty, and to the purity of religion itself. He hoped that it would soon come to be a paramount question at the hustings; so that no longer a Sir William Clay would tell the electors of a borough like the Tower Hamlets, that though a State Church is itself illogical, to attempt to destroy it when once established is consummately illogical. He hoped the Nonconformist electors of that borough would yet enter a protest against that declaration, by returning two unshrinking Anti-state-churchmen as their representatives [hear, hear]. When the question came to be thus secondary to none in the estimation of constituencies, the oldest man might hope to see their great object practically consummated. This organization he believed to be admirably adapted to excite the zeal and concentrate the strength of Nonconformists; especially as it utterly repudiated the distinction which, he had learned with surprise and regret, would exclude him (as a conscientious Unitarian) and his fellow-religionists, from another organization of a more social nature, about to be established [hear, hear]. He congratulated the society and its earnest-minded founder on the position of that gentleman as member-elect for Rochdale; and he was sanguine enough to hope, that the cause would be effectually served by his obtaining a parliamentary committee on the State Church, and thereby for the first time place on the records of Parliament this terrible grievance, in all its amplitude and manifold ramifications [applause].

The SECRETARY then read the following Report: also a note from Dr. Price, expressing regret at compulsory absence.

GENTLEMEN.—The Executive Committee gladly close the labours of another year by appearing before the Council at its annual meeting. Aware that the struggle on which they have entered may be one of long continuance, they are led to watch its progress with a keenness of interest befitting those who have to derive from the past a lesson as well as an encouragement. Sensible of the magnitude of the obstacles to be overcome, they appreciate the opportunity of taking counsel with a body capable of cheering by its presence and affording aid by its deliberations.

Gentlemen, there is significance in the fact that this Association, with but slender resources, and with no other advantages than those accruing from sound principles earnestly held, has succeeded in gaining for its purpose a constantly increasing share of public attention during a period when other subjects of great practical importance have pressed for immediate settlement. The meetings which have been held, and the lectures delivered through its instrumentality, may now be counted by hundreds; but familiarity with the topics discussed has been found in no degree to diminish the interest with which they have been regarded. On the contrary, the persevering iteration of the same truths, strikingly illustrated as they have been by the occurrences of the passing day, has exercised a perceptible influence in awakening inquiry, wearing down prejudice, and deepening conviction in the public mind.

The extent of the operations carried on by the Committee in this important department of their labours will be seen from the following statement of the places which have been visited either by deputations or by the society's lecturer, during the year which has just closed:—

BUCKS.—Chalvey—Mr. Kingsley.
CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND.—Carlisle—Kendal—Mr. Kingsley and Rev. D. M. Evans. Cockermouth—Mr. Kingsley.
CHESHIRE AND DENBIGHSHIRE.—Macclesfield—Mr. Kingsley and Rev. G. B. Johnson. Wrexham—Mr. Kingsley.
DURHAM AND NORTHUMBRIA.—Darlington—Rev. J. R. Campbell and Mr. Kingsley. Hartlepool—Middlesbrough—North and South Shields—Newcastle—Sunderland and Stockton—Rev. J. G. Miall and Secretary.
EASTERN COUNTIES.—Braintree—Secretary. Billerica and Southminster—Rev. I. Dosey. Ipswich—Secretary, Mr. J. H. Tillett, and Rev. W. H. Bonner.
HANTS AND DORSET.—Southampton—Rev. W. Forster and Secretary. Christchurch—Mr. Kingsley.
KENT.—Gravesend—Secretary and Mr. Kingsley.
LANCASHIRE.—Accrington—Bacup—Colne—Liverpool (2)—Mr. Kingsley. Manchester—Rev. Messrs. Burnet and Forster. Preston—Rev. G. B. Johnson and Mr. Kingsley. Blackburn and Darwen—Mr. Kingsley and Rev. J. Stock.
MIDLAND COUNTIES.—Birmingham—Rev. Messrs. Burnet and Forster. Northampton—Secretary and Rev. W. Forster. Leicester—Nottingham—and Boston—Rev. Messrs. Forster and Grant. Market Harborough—Rev. W. Forster.
WESTERN COUNTIES.—Worcester—Rev. Messrs. Parsons and Forster. Bath—Bristol (2)—Bridgwater—Frome—Glastonbury—Weston-super-Mare—Mr. Kingsley. Bristol—Messrs. Forster and Parsons. Dartmouth—Exeter—Kingsbridge—Modbury—Plymouth (2)—Torquay—Tavistock—Launceston—Liskeard—Mr. Kingsley.
YORKSHIRE.—Bradford—Rev. Messrs. Burnet and Forster. Barnsley and Rotherham—Messrs. Kingsley and Stock. Huddersfield—Messrs. Miall and Baynes. Rochdale—Mr. Kingsley and Rev. Hugh S. Brown. Halifax—Hull—Leeds—Sheffield—Wakefield—and York—Rev. J. R. Campbell and Mr. Kingsley. Scarborough—Secretary. Beverley—Driffield—Dewsbury—Hebden Bridge—Huddersfield (2)—Longwood—Mills Bridge—Ovenden—Stainland—Sowerby Bridge—Mr. Kingsley.

SCOTLAND.—Aberdeen—Dundee—Dunfermline—Edinburgh—Glasgow—Montrose—Perth—Mr. Miall and Rev. J. A. Baynes.
SOUTH WALES.—Hirwaun—Rev. Messrs. D. M. Evans and John Thomas. Cardiff—Haverfordwest—Milford Haven—Pembroke Dock—and Carmarthen—Rev. Messrs. Evans and Short. Swansea—Llanelli—Rev. D. M. Evans.

To those gentlemen who have undertaken the arduous and responsible duty of representing the Association on these occasions, the Committee feel themselves to be under considerable obligation, both from the value of the services rendered, and the circumstance that they have been, in most instances, given by men actively engaged on other departments of public service. In anticipating the future, the Committee feel that it will be necessary not only to ask for a renewal of such help, but to secure an increased number of equally efficient coadjutors, who, by setting apart a portion of each season for the purpose, will enable them to hold meetings hitherto deferred, and to enter upon ground which cannot at present be occupied. But they wish, at the same time, to impress upon local committees the importance of continuous agitation, more or less sustained by local resources, and particularly of making the larger towns centres for diffusing information and exciting interest in their respective districts.

As the result of consultation with the metropolitan members of the Council, the Committee resolved upon holding monthly meetings in London, during the winter season, at which addresses on given topics should be delivered; the assistance of gentlemen from the country being secured for the purpose. Meetings were accordingly held in the months of January, February, March, and April, at the City of London Literary Institution, and the Committee have pleasure in stating, that the Addresses,* which were of unusual excellence, were listened to with marked interest by numbers who, it is believed, had not attended the society's previous meetings.

Among the objects which have had the anxious attention of the Committee during the past twelve months, has been the prosecution of the literary scheme which formed an important feature in the Report submitted at the last annual meeting. They had indulged the hope of being able to congratulate you to-day on the completion of the fund of £2,000 estimated to be necessary for its accomplishment; but as they have still to make application in many quarters from which contributions have not been received, they will not cease in their efforts to obtain the required sum.

The volumes of the "Library for the Times" which have been issued from the press during the year are as follows:—

1. The Church of England in the Reigns of the Tudors.
2. The Church of England in the Reigns of the Stuarts.
3. John Milton: a Biography. Especially designed to exhibit the Ecclesiastical Principles of that illustrious man. By Cyrus R. Edmonds.
4. The Test of Experience; or, The Voluntary Principle in the United States. By J. H. Hinton.
5. Footsteps of our Forefathers: what they suffered and what they sought. Graphically describing localities, and portraying personages and events, most conspicuous in the struggles for religious liberty. By J. G. Miall.
6. The Life of Constantine the Great. By Joseph Fletcher.
7. The Life of Roger Williams, Founder of the Colony of Rhode Island. By Dr. Elton.

These will be followed, during the present year, by—
8. The Free-Church of Ancient Christendom, and its Subjugation by Constantine. By Basil H. Cooper.
9. The Treasure-Seeker's Daughter; a Tale of the days of James I. By Miss Lawrance.
10. Poetical Companion to the Classical Selections. The Covenanters. By George Gillilan.

The Committee have the satisfaction of reporting, that the published volumes have, they have reason to think, met with the cordial approval of the Society's friends, as being well adapted to their intended purpose, and, also, that they have been warmly commended by the public press, as being written with ability and attractiveness, as well as with fairness and impartiality. Notwithstanding the difficulties incident to the commencement of such a project, and of others which had not been anticipated, the sale of the works has, for the time which has elapsed, been most satisfactory, as many as eleven thousand copies, in the aggregate, having been put into circulation. This result has, they believe, been obtained not by any special effort, but chiefly through the ordinary trade channels; and there is reason to believe that many Dissenters, in some parts of the kingdom, are as yet unacquainted with the character, and even with the existence of the "Library for the Times;" and that systematic exertion for the purpose would speedily double the present circulation. To ensure stability and permanent success to this important enterprise, the Executive Committee earnestly urge the friends of the Association not merely to purchase the volumes themselves, but to lose no opportunity of bringing them under the notice of others, as well as to endeavour to gain for them a place in chapel, school, institution, and other libraries, with which they may be connected.

Before quitting this subject, the Committee deem it right to refer to some representations which have been made to them respecting the price at which the works are published. These have, in almost all cases, been suggested by the price of other books, the copyright of which has expired, and which have already acquired a reputation. Obviously, however, a book costing nothing for authorship, and with the merits of which the public are acquainted, can be published at a much lower sum than another, which has to pay the expense of copyright, and to find for itself a place in the literary market. The Committee, of course, desire that no impediment should exist to the wide circulation of the literature they may produce, but a greatly in-

- * The following were the subjects and speakers:—
"Anti-state-churchism not incompatible with due Subordination to Civil Government." Rev. William Brock.
"The History of the Clergy Reserves in Canada." John Scoble, Esq.
"A Churchman's Objections to the Anti-state-church Movement answered." Rev. Brewin Grant, of Birmingham.
"The Origin of State-churchism." Rev. W. Fors'er.
"Contradictions involved in the Union of Church and State." Rev. J. Gordon, of Coventry.
"The demand for a revival of Convocation examined." Edward Miall, Esq.
"The Social Influence of the State-church." Rev. W. G. Barrett, of Royston.
"The State Church and Christian Union." N. T. Langridge, Esq.
"The Maynooth Grant." Rev. J. Burnet.
"The History and Revenues of the Irish Church." John Kingsley, Esq.
"Anti-state-churchism not Schism." Rev. Thomas Archer, D.D.

creased capital would be required to justify them in incurring the risk of issuing low-priced works. Their intention at the outset was announced to be, not to cheapen existing, but to provide a new class of works; yet, while a safe and remunerating price has been fixed, it has not exceeded, and, in some instances, is less than that of other books equal in matter, character, and style.

The great increase of business consequent upon this extension of the publication department, has made it impossible, with the existing staff, to devote the same amount of attention as formerly to the general operations of the Society, and this, added to an unusual delay in the remittance of subscriptions, to which the Committee refer with regret, has somewhat affected the balance-sheet to be now presented. A recurrence of this will, they trust, be prevented by contemplated arrangements, but they must seriously press upon the society's friends the necessity for both contributing on a larger scale than they have yet done, and for multiplying the number of subscribers, if its agitation is to correspond with the demands of the times and increasing facilities for its extension.

In reviewing the course of public affairs during the last twelve months, numerous occurrences present themselves, fraught with deep interest to the members of this Association. Some of these have been adverted to in previous Reports. Last year, the Committee congratulated the Council on the growing strength of the Parliamentary opposition to the *Regium Donum*; but while announcing their intention to persevere in their resistance, and professing a belief that the course of events would tend to facilitate the ultimate extinction of the grant, they were not prepared for a realization of their hopes at so early a period as last session. Great, therefore, was their gratification at finding that the Whig Ministry were prepared to make the vote of that session the last, and to pledge themselves that it should be excluded from future estimates. A change of administration has prevented their complete fulfilment of this pledge by the Whigs, but the estimates having been adopted by their successors in office, dissenters may now rejoice at the removal of this long-existing occasion of reproach.

With a view to assist in making the inquiry of the Parliamentary Committee appointed to consider the law and the operation of *Church Rates* as comprehensive as possible, the Executive Committee addressed to the Society's friend a circular soliciting information on a variety of points, regarding which it was thought desirable to produce evidence. The replies furnished some important particulars, the use of which was, however, precluded by the termination of the session before the evidence obtained by other parties had been exhausted. But, incomplete as the investigation has been, the evidence reported (of which Mr. Trelawny, the chairman of the Committee, has published a useful epitome) furnishes an array of facts illustrative of the state and the operation of the law regulating this species of ecclesiastical exaction, which should excite in the minds of State-Churchmen feelings of compunction, while, at the same time, they may learn from the important statistics here supplied, how extensively the religious wants of the people have been met by voluntary efforts—efforts put forth not by professed voluntaries only, but by those who have been wont to deride the principle of Christian willingness to which they are now paying a real though unconscious homage.

In the *Metropolitan Interments Act*, in the condemnation of which this Council had its share, centralization has enjoyed but a short-lived triumph. Entangled in the meshes of the net, which it sought to throw over the entire metropolitan population, living and dead, the Board of Health has found it impracticable to put in operation a statute obtained in defiance of the indignant protests of the public. But, fertile in its resources, clerical rapacity is not likely to allow itself to be readily foiled in an attempt to levy black-mail on the bodies of the dead, and as the settlement of the question cannot long be postponed, the matter should be pressed on those who are now, or who aspire to be, members of the House of Commons.

The movement for the repeal of the *Maynooth Endowment Act*, threatened a year ago, has since somewhat affected, though it has by no means agitated, the political atmosphere. Respecting the event which gave rise to it, a difference of opinion prevailed among the Nonconformist body; but the Committee have had no hesitation in determining the course proper to be adopted by those adherents of this Association who think it right, at the present period, to unite with others in the withdrawal of the grant in question.

It will be remembered that at the Conference held for the formation of the Association, a resolution was unanimously adopted denouncing both the Irish *Regium Donum* and the Maynooth Grant, as sustaining out of the public purse the advocates of theological opinions diametrically opposed, and as conducing as little to the peace and good order of the country, as to the moral and religious benefit of the people. Upon the introduction of the Maynooth College Endowment Bill, in 1845, the Committee passed a series of resolutions, in which, while cordially admitting the claim of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, respectively of their religious views, to the enjoyment of every right to which the citizens of a free country are entitled, they protested with equal earnestness against the outrage done to the feelings of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland by the establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as against the wrong sought to be inflicted upon Protestants by giving State support to the diffusion of Romanism. Again, when the measure had become law, the Committee passed a further series of resolutions, declaring, that while they pledged themselves to promote the repeal of a law which was, in effect, an extension of the principle of State-Establishments of religion, they wished the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and the British community at large, distinctly to understand that they would do so by such measures only as would equally tend to the disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland, and to the repeal of every act, and the abrogation of every practice, by which, in any part of the British empire, civil distinctions are made on religious grounds, or the authority and influence of the State are exerted in religious matters. Continuing to entertain the views thus expressed, this Committee felt it to be their duty, a short time since, publicly to express their earnest hope that any effort put forth by the friends of the Anti-state-church Association for the repeal of the Maynooth College Endowment Act would be in harmony with the spirit of all its former

proceedings, and that desire they beg emphatically to reiterate on the present occasion.

Gentlemen, the measure of 1845, then regarded as an act of statesmanship justifying any sacrifice of principle, is destined to exercise a powerful influence in accelerating the solution of a much wider question. They who, to prop up a condemned Church Establishment, were willing to erect another by its side, having sown the wind are already reaping the whirlwind. An important political party, moved by conscientious hostility to Roman Catholicism, are bent on the extinction of all Parliamentary grants for its support. But the English people have too strong a sense of justice to deprive one sect of supposed advantages, and at the same time to allow others to remain in the undisturbed possession of them. Hence it will come to be more and more felt, that to maintain in affluence the Church of the Episcopalian minority in Ireland, while withdrawing a comparative pittance from that of the Roman Catholic majority, would be a wrong which Ireland would not endure, and Rome ought not to inflict; and the common sense of dispassionate Protestants will suggest, that the policy of which the Maynooth Grant forms a part, having originated in the exigencies of the Protestant Church in Ireland, that Church must, for the sake of Protestantism itself, cease to be endowed and favoured by law. Thus, "though they mean it not so, neither do they in their hearts desire it," our opponents themselves are assisting to hasten on a crisis in which the cause of State-churchism will receive a blow from which it cannot possibly recover.

Nor is this the only respect in which members of the Church Establishment are forging weapons for the destruction of their cherished idol. The two sections of the Church of England designated Evangelical and Puseyite, continue largely to contribute towards that accumulation of facts and of reasonings, upon which the national mind will ultimately base its final judgment. The former have made palpable to the world the hopelessness of that renovation which they assert to be needful for the salvation of the Establishment. No alteration in ritual or in discipline, however slight, cannot be obtained for the easement of unquiet consciences. The royal head of the Church, the Episcopate and the Parliament, alike decline or are unable to afford relief; and, more humiliating still, abjuring past protestations, and, regardless of prospective results, the Evangelical party have committed themselves to an expression of unqualified satisfaction with the royal supremacy, and, of thankfulness for a judicial decision which, while it saved them from the impending necessity for secession, afforded equal security to those whom they denounce as the worst enemies of the Church and Protestantism. Neither has the opposing party been without serious discouragement, the effect of which has, however, been a clearer recognition on their part of the soundness of principles long dear to our hearts, and which are now not without attraction for them. Thus it is proclaimed by their organs that the great fact of the day is liberty of conscience, and that that liberty can never be reversed; that so soon as the Test and Corporation Acts were passed, it became the business of the Church to let the State take its own course, developing its own principles as a political body, having political responsibility, and no longer asking it to regulate religion, and to protect the faith, to the injury of the faith and the religion of the Church.* And, that there may be no feature of the great case left untouched, and that no class of the community may remain indifferent, the Marquis of Blandford, Mr. Horsman, Sir Benjamin Hall, and Mr. Whiston, have dragged into the light of day, deeds of spoliation on the part of members of the episcopal bench, of the capitular bodies, and of dignified ecclesiastics, which have made all England ring with indignation, and honest Churchmen to blush that they bear the name.

Gentlemen, it would be a reflection on the intelligence of the people of this country, to suppose that a series of incidents such as these has not done much to disturb that ignorance and prejudice on which the State-church in these realms has hitherto securely rested, and that there is a consciousness of this on the part of politicians, is indicated by the significant declaration volunteered by the chief of the recently-formed Administration—a declaration which a few years since would have been regarded as superfluous—that his Government will regard it as a solemn duty to maintain from all aggression the rights, the privileges, and the possessions of the Church established by law, and will strive to secure to the State-appointed clergy a paramount influence over the people. But, gentlemen, whether this defiant attitude on behalf of State-ecclesiasticism be assumed by Lord Derby, on the one hand, or by Lord John Russell, on the other, or by both political sections in combination, it may be predicted, with the utmost confidence, that when once the tide of popular conviction and feeling shall have set in against the system, not all the barriers interposed by aristocratic obstructiveness will long avert its final overthrow.

Gentlemen, the British nation is about to be once more appealed to for its verdict on public men and measures, and to re-constitute that legislative body, the character of which will greatly affect our future political history. To the subject of the approaching general election, the Executive Committee invite your most thoughtful and earnest consideration. The Nonconformist party have at the present time to discharge a duty involving in all cases grave responsibility and in some more than ordinary wisdom. In 1847, from which time their electoral history may be said to date, resistance to State interference with religion was made a point around which they rallied, not without considerable present success, but with still more cheering promise of future victory. Is a policy so high-principled to be abandoned now? Shall the phantom of commercial monopoly scare, or the fading halo of effete Whiggism lure, as from a position in which we never could so strongly entrench ourselves as at the present hour? Not only does the prevailing confusion among political parties destroy old pretexts for keeping our principles in abeyance, but it presents openings for the bold presentation of them where a paltering system of expediency has shaken confidence, if not inspired disgust. Added to this, there never was a period when the public ear could be more readily gained for the discussion of ecclesiastical topics, or when there abounded so many vivid illustrations of the absurdity and mischievousness of the institution we assail. While therefore, the Executive Committee have no desire to exact from their constituents any pledge binding them

to a particular course of action in all cases, they would urge them with unwonted earnestness to resolve upon turning the coming general election to the utmost possible account for the advancement of their distinctive principles. The modes of effecting this are various—some of them readily suggesting themselves, and others such as will occur to minds resolutely bent on meeting special exigencies, or improving favourable opportunities. In all large towns in which the mass of political Liberalism is largely leavened with Nonconformity, Nonconformists ought firmly to insist on the possession of a fair share of the representation, and to endeavour to send to Parliament men known as the conscientious and earnest advocates of their views. The Committee rejoice to believe that already seats are secured for several well-known and highly valued supporters of their cause and are desirous that, by further accessions to the number, a compact band of unflinching Nonconformists may constitute the nucleus of a presently powerful party in the State. And even where candidates cannot be found willing to commit themselves at once to hostility to Church and State connexion, it will be possible, in many instances, to obtain pledges, practically valuable, however inconsistent, to oppose any extension of the system, as well as to remove or mitigate specific evils. In no case should the opinions of the supporters of Establishments be allowed to pass unchallenged, while the pretensions of Liberal politicians, who have hitherto cheaply purchased Dissenting votes by wordy professions of attachment to religious liberty, should be unsparringly scrutinized, and when found to be practically valueless, should be treated as such. Especially should candidates pledged to vote for the repeal of the Maynooth Endowment Act, be vigorously pressed, if needful, for reasons why, Roman Catholics should be taxed to support Protestantism, any more than Protestants for that of Romanism? or how the Irish Church Establishment, the Presbyterian *Regium Donum*, and the endowment to the Presbyterian College at Belfast, can be maintained, after the withdrawal of the present endowment of Maynooth?

The circulation of accurate information bearing on the questions at issue, is at such a time a duty as imperative as it is easily discharged. Candidates at a loss to know what is meant by separating the Church from the State, must receive enlightenment on a point so vitally affecting the fulfilment of their anticipated functions and the well-being of the country; and both they and the constituent bodies must become familiar with principles and demands which will soon become the great testing points of electoral contests. To facilitate this important process, the committee hope to be able to provide a supply of tracts and placards suited to such an occasion; the free use of which they urge upon their friends in every locality.

Gentlemen, if there be required motives to exertions in such a cause additional to those furnished by events within the shores of our own island, the mournful spectacle now presented by continental Europe may be appealed to, both to excite our sympathy and to stimulate our zeal. There, as of old, an iron-handed despotism has combined with an unscrupulous priesthood to crush out the liberties of nations, and the sword of persecution is unsheathed for a fresh crusade against the rights of conscience and the enlightenment of mind. Many are the struggling patriots in those lands who took to England as the polar star of political freedom; and well, indeed, may we rejoice at the possession, not of civil alone, but of a large measure of religious liberty; but we have yet to read to the world the impressive lesson which will be presented when its most powerful empire shall proclaim by its statutes that the religious interests of men shall be no longer a matter of concernment to their rulers; that physical force shall cease to be a means for the sustenance of divine truth, and that, equally protected, but unendowed and unparsonized by law, churches of every sect shall rely on their own resources and energies for support.

May God, by his providential movements, hasten that event in his own time, and may we be found willing instruments for achieving all that human instrumentality can effect!

The Rev. W. BROOK moved the first resolution:—

That this Council, in adopting the Report of the Executive Committee, expresses its gratification at the sustained efforts put forth by the Anti-state-church Association, for the diffusion and advocacy of its principle throughout the kingdom; and rejoices at the manifest tendency of public events to deepen the impression which they are calculated to produce.

Among the events forwarding this movement was the trial of Mr. Gladstone—an excellent man, to his knowledge. He pleaded that he had received a commission to preach from Jesus Christ—which was quite right for a Christian, but quite wrong for a clergyman; who should have no conscience in the matter. But when an ecclesiastical court rang with applause of such declarations, something must come of it. Lord Derby's declaration would put, not only Dissenters, but the people, on their mettle. Whenever a statesman—Canning, Wellington, or Peel—said he would not do a thing, he did it the next year. This would stir up certain Dissenters who were impracticable in no other way. As to electoral labours, he had enough of it at the last general election, in a certain town; and though they did not get their man in, they effected a great change, and many had confessed to him they had altered their minds. He meant to do as he had done—vote for nobody who didn't hold their principle. They need not care about Protection—that was safe enough. They had a fair field, which it was to be feared at first they would not have. Let them, therefore, press their old questions, and vote for nobody who had to learn the meaning of Anti-state-churchism. If such a man got in, he would learn its meaning all the better for the loss of Dissenting votes [hear, hear].

The Rev. S. GREEN seconded the resolution.

The SECRETARY moved, and Mr. BONTENS, of Hemel Hempstead, seconded:—

That the appointment of Mr. George Bayley, of Cornhill, Mr. John Cook, jun., of Holloway, and the Rev. Alexander Good, of Holloway, as members of the Executive Committee, to fill the vacancies occasioned by the death of Mr. Robert Norris, and the resignation of Messrs. Hinton and Green, be confirmed by this Council.

Moved by Mr. C. WILLIAMS, seconded by Mr. BONTENS, and carried *nem. con.*

Mr. E. MIALL moved:—

That this Council views with especial pleasure the progress made by the Executive Committee in developing the literary scheme submitted at their last annual meeting, and attaching to its success a high degree of importance, urges the society's friends to furnish the amount of capital still required, and to obtain for the volumes of the "Library for the Times" a large and increasing circulation.

He might be allowed, before speaking to the resolution, to say a few words on the new relation in which he stood to this movement, and to the legislature, and to which reference had been made by the chairman in such distinct and complimentary terms. It was of course an honour, that position to which he looked forward—an honour to which a man might properly aspire. But for his own part, he felt that its responsibilities were so serious and onerous that he feared lest he should disappoint the expectations and imperfectly discharge the duties imposed upon him. He trusted that this Council and its constituents would regard him, and men placed, like himself, in the van of the battle, and in an arena where there was no popularity to be got, as having a strong claim to earnest and hearty support [hear, hear]. If they had at their back a sincere movement in the Nonconformist and political world—if they were known to represent, not simply their own opinions, but the earnest determination of a large section of the public—they might face with some courage whatever disagreeable circumstances might impede their advance. He believed they would have between twenty and thirty Anti-state-churchmen in the next House of Commons, and if they organized themselves, thoroughly understood each other, and moved with a community of purpose, they might produce a very powerful effect. But he was convinced that their only chance of gaining a hearing in the House—such a hearing as this question required—depended on their having somewhat more earnestness and determination on the part of their friends throughout the country. How unpleasant would it be if, in reply to a representation from him of the strong feeling of Dissenters and the people generally against the State Church, some one should exhibit the balance-sheet of the Association [hear, hear]. Now, as to the publication scheme,—he attached to it very great importance. By its means a class of literature was finding its way into circles where controversial publications could never find access; and was gradually preparing many persons, hitherto completely under the dominion of prejudice, to receive, listen to, and consider the more direct truths by and by to be addressed to them. The works had gone off chiefly through the ordinary trade channels; so that the readers were not exclusively, nor even mainly, those to whom they (the Association) had easy access. The books issued had been referred to by organs of the public press, that had been in the habit only of sneering at what this Association put forth, in terms that had no doubt contributed to this result, as at ractive, useful, and impartial productions. They had not yet, however, obtained the whole sum of £2,000, which they needed to render the enterprise a safe and unembarrassed one. They had received £1,443, and held premises for £110 more. Mr. Morley had engaged to complete the £2,000 if £1,900 were raised within a certain time. The Council could see, then, that it was very important the remaining £350 should be raised promptly; and he hoped that some arrangement would be made for that purpose before the Council broke up. The whole sum would be wisely invested, he believed, to promote the object and sustain the operations of this Association [hear, hear].

The resolution having been seconded, a conversation took place as to the exact condition and prospects of the scheme; in the course of which, the Treasurer stated that the actual cost of the books issued was about £1,700; £960 had been received; there were £400 of book debts; the first edition of several volumes was nearly exhausted; the second would of course be more profitable; and the issues were now bi-monthly.

Mr. EDWARD SWAINE moved, and the Rev. HENRY SOLLY seconded:—

That this Council regards with unmixed satisfaction the success which has at length attended the exertions of the Association, in conjunction with other public bodies, in the anticipated extinction of the Parliamentary grant to poor Protestant Dissenting ministers, and is encouraged by the removal of this occasion of reproach to consistent Nonconformity to look forward with feelings of lively hope to the withdrawal of all legislative resources from the religious communities.

Mr. W. BAINES, of Leicester, moved:—

That in the judgment of this Council the evidence laid before the recent Parliamentary committee on church-rates, notwithstanding its incompleteness, proves the existence of a widely-spread and deeply-rooted aversion to compulsory exactions for religious purposes—vividly illustrates the pernicious working of the system of which they form a part, and exhibits in favourable contrast the efficiency of the Voluntary principle as displayed in the efforts of Churchmen no less than Dissenters; and that it furnishes additional inducements to activity for the abolition of this and similar imposts.

It was of great importance, in his judgment, pending the alteration of the law, to get rid of church-rates in localities. In the parish in which he lived, they fought the battle fifteen years consecutively and unsuccessfully. In the sixteenth year they obtained a majority. In the seventeenth year they mustered so strongly as to leave the enemy no chance. A rate was laid by the minority, but never enforced. Last year they came applying to the leading Dissenters to assist them in repairing the church, which had fallen into extreme dilapidation; and they said, "Now you've come as common beggars, we'll give you something" [laughter]. The clergyman had

also gained by the Voluntary principle; for pew-rents had doubled his income. Leicester was now completely emancipated; and that parish was in a happier state than it had ever been.

Mr. ROBERT MARRS, of Islington, seconded the resolution. Having no expectation of a parliamentary settlement, he enforced the advice of Mr. Baines, that Dissenters should everywhere take the matter into their own hands.

Mr. OSBORN, of Dunstable, said, in that town, though overlaid with church charities, they had had no church-rate for eight or nine years, and had recently raised 1,500*l.* voluntarily.

Mr. ALLAN, churchwarden of Shadwell, urged the importance of choosing Dissenting parochial officers. He was called upon, as soon as elected, to make a rate, and he refused, and the idea was now quite abandoned.

Mr. KINGSLEY remarked, that there was a slight reluctance on the part of some, who regarded parish churches as national property, to cast the entire burden of their support upon Churchmen, lest they should thereby obtain a moral right to them, when the Legislature came to settle the whole matter.

Mr. E. MIALI thought the party who had enjoyed for so long places of worship rent free, and were only required to keep them in repair, could not complain if the property were not made absolute [laughter, and hear, hear]. He invited the Chairman to inform the Council of the position and prospects of the Braintree case.

The CHAIRMAN said, the case was now, as every one knew, under the consideration of the highest tribunal, the Lords; and he heard a noble and learned lord, in asking the opinion of the judges, enjoin them to use more speed in considering their judgment than they did when it was before them as Barons of the Exchequer. There were no indications yet of forthcoming judgment; and on what side the decision would be, depended much on the fluctuations of life and health, and it was believed to rest with Lord Brougham. He understood that the general expectation on both sides was that it would be for them (the anti-church-rate party). In that case, he believed the church-rate party would be very anxious for a legislative settlement, and be content with such a measure as Lord Althorp's, which they opposed—a measure to transfer the cost of maintaining the fabric to the Consolidated Fund. To such a scheme, Dissenters would be bound to prefer the present system [hear, hear]—and they would then, at least in populous parishes, have power to defeat the operation of the law. He should not himself be willing to part with the vestry meeting, the parochial parliament—the remnant of Saxon institutions. Those assemblies were important means of education, and gave to the Nonconformist an audience and an opportunity he could not often obtain [hear, hear]. If, however, the decision should be adverse, much would still remain in their power. There were several ways of obstructing the levying of a rate by a minority—one churchwarden, for instance, could refuse to make such a rate; it would be a sufficient answer for him, as far as all precedents yet went, to any ecclesiastical monition, to say that a majority of the vestry had refused the rate. As to the Braintree case—the Chairman subsequently said—if the decision were against the appellants, and they were sent back to the Ecclesiastical Courts, they could run the case up again to the Privy Council [laughter], where they might expect a decision in about ten or twelve years. If then the rate were confirmed, it would stand thus:—after thirty years' litigation, there would be a rate to do certain specific repairs to a church that could be done once, but could not be done now; by a certain churchwarden not now in office; on a certain constituency, one-half of whom were dead, and the other half removed [much laughter and cheers].

Mr. BARRY, a Buckinghamshire farmer—the gentleman who questions Mr. Disraeli at every election—said that although he was the only recusant in the parish, they had got so ashamed of taking his sheep for church-rates that they had not made a rate of late.

The Rev. I. DOXEY mentioned a High-Church town, twelve miles from Oxford, where a similar influence had been exerted.

The Rev. S. GREEN moved, and the Rev. J. BROWN, of London, seconded:—

That the Council regards with deep concern the persecuting spirit displayed towards various religious sects by several of the absolute powers of the continent of Europe—professedly Protestant as well as Papal—that it expresses a lively sympathy with all those who have been thereby involved in suffering for conscience sake—and that it sees in these and all similar instances of oppression fresh evidence of the deplorable evils which necessarily follow upon the intervention of civil Governments in purely ecclesiastical and spiritual matters.

The Rev. W. BROCK remarked, in support of the resolution, that some of the very men who appeared on the boards of the Evangelical Alliance, returned to trample on his brethren, the Baptists of Germany.

Mr. MIALI added that the Evangelical Protestants were not the only parties persecuted. Ronge's free churches had been every one of them suppressed, and the use of their formularies forbidden even in private houses; and that in Prussia as well as in Austria.

The Rev. R. W. OVERBURY observed, that the Established Church of Sweden was as bad as any in Europe; at Gottenburg, Nonconformists were even forbidden to marry except at the established churches.

Rev. ALEXANDER KING, of Dublin, moved, and Mr. PIDDUCK, of Hanley, seconded:—

That the strenuous efforts now being made to effect a repeal of the Maynooth College Endowment Act, offer a

suitable opportunity to the Council to reiterate and confirm the objections to the measure which, on its introduction to the Legislature by the late Sir Robert Peel, on its becoming the law of the land, and recently on the commencement by other parties of an agitation for the discontinuance of the grant, the Executive Committee have passed and published. That in the expectation of the Council, such efforts will tend to forward the great object of the Association—because, if unsuccessful, those who are most conscientious and earnest in making them will feel compelled to widen the basis of their opposition to the limits which impartiality and justice manifestly require—and if successful, they will place the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, and the Presbyterian *Regium Donum*, in so obvious a position of exclusive privilege, as to attract renewed attention to the impolicy of making so marked and invidious distinction between the creed of one portion of the Irish people and that of the other—and that the Council entertain a belief that in whatever way the agitation may terminate, it will greatly aid in producing a general conviction that the only hope for peace in Ireland lies in putting an end to all State ecclesiastical endowments in that country, without reference to the religious belief or discipline of the churches now in the enjoyment of them.

A discussion was raised by some verbal amendments suggested by the mover, and agreed to; and on a proposal to address the Roman Catholics of the Empire, on which no resolution was come to.

The Rev. W. GRIFFITH (of Derby), moved, and Mr. CHARLES JONES (of Lambeth), seconded:—

That the gratuitous declaration of the Earl of Derby, on his accession to office, that it would be a principal object of his administration to uphold and extend the influence of the Protestant Church Establishment in these realms, and to maintain its rights, dignities, emoluments, and privileges intact against all aggression, is regarded by the Council, as betraying a consciousness in high political quarters, that public opinion is fast ripening for some aggressive movement on this anomalous institution, and that, instead of checking the proceedings of the Association, it should stimulate them to renewed and persevering exertion, by proving to them that the course they have hitherto pursued has contributed to make an impression even upon those who are most hostile to their object.

The Rev. E. S. PRYOR (of Gravesend), moved:—

That the Council cannot separate without urgently recommending the friends of the Association to avail themselves of the facilities presented by the approaching general election, for promoting the great object they are organized to secure. Where suitable candidates, professing Anti-state-church principles, offer themselves, the Council claims on their behalf steady and unflinching support; where no such opportunity is afforded, much may be effected by vigorously pressing those principles on candidates, at present imperfectly acquainted with, or not yet prepared to adopt them; and in all places, tracts and other publications, suited to the occasion, may be circulated, with confidence that they will be read, and will become fruitful of good results now or hereafter. Without presuming to point out the special mode in which the supporters of the Association can act with most effect—a point which can be determined only by those who are acquainted with local circumstances, the Council expresses its earnest hope and expectation, that nothing will be left undone by the advocates of Christian willinghood, which prudence, forethought, and resolution can effect, to turn the general election to the best account towards securing the ultimate separation of the Church from the State.

He cordially approved of the course now recommended. He had acted in 1847 upon the policy of abstention. He believed it had exercised a wholesome influence upon the Liberal member for the constituency to which he belonged; he was pledged against further endowments, and his votes were up to his profession. He should, therefore, now vote for him. He strongly urged Nonconformist electors, at all events, to make their principles known at the ensuing election.

Mr. CUNNINGTON, of Brentford, seconded the resolution, and stated the concurrence of his experience with that of the mover.

The CHAIRMAN related how feebly the former resolution had been acted upon in North Essex. He had himself adhered to the abstention policy, but very few others did so. Altogether, he believed it to be the hardest and most self-denying policy, and only to be resorted to in great emergencies.

Messrs. ALLAN, ELLINGTON, E. MIALI, and EVEREST (of Rochester), spoke to the resolution; which, like all the foregoing, was carried unanimously.

The last resolution—one of thanks to the Chairman—was moved by W. EDWARDS, Esq., carried by acclamation, and briefly acknowledged.

A large proportion of the gentlemen of the Council afterwards re-assembled for dinner at Radley's Hotel; where a handsome repast was provided. The company enjoyed the lively presidency of the Rev. John Burnet. No toasts were proposed; but short, appropriate speeches were made by the Rev. W. Brock; Mr. E. Miall; Mr. W. Baines; the Rev. C. Winter (of Southminster); Mr. Nunneley (of Market Harborough); Mr. B. S. Robinson (of Bristol); Mr. T. Grundy (of Harbro'); Mr. J. Cunington; and Mr. Braddy (of Keledon).

THE ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING

of this Association was held in the evening, at Finsbury Chapel; Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., M.P., in the chair. The attendance was very numerous. The following gentlemen were on the platform:—Rev. J. H. Hinton, W. Edwards, Esq., Rev. J. Gawthorne (of Derby), Rev. W. Forster, Mr. E. Miall, Rev. H. Solly, Rev. C. Winter (of Southminster), Rev. C. F. Vardy, Rev. W. Griffith (of Derby), Rev. A. Good, Mr. Osborne (of Dunstable), Mr. J. Cook, jun., Mr. Vernon (of Blandford), Rev.

A. King (of Dublin), Rev. I. Doxsey, Rev. H. Richard, Mr. Barry (of Briel), Mr. King (of Rochdale), Mr. Gutteridge (of Dunstable), Rev. A. Newth (of Oundle), Mr. Nunneley (of Market Harborough), Rev. R. Hamilton, Mr. Grundy (of Luton), Mr. W. Baines (of Leicester), Rev. W. Stallybrass, Rev. J. Burnet, Mr. Everest (of Rochester), Mr. Thompson (of Poundersford Park), Rev. J. Shedlock, Rev. G. B. Bubier (of Cambridge), Mr. Pidduck (of Hanley), Mr. Gibbs (of the Aylesbury News), Dr. Oxley, &c.

The CHAIRMAN said: I am proud to occupy the place of honour which you have assigned me, because I believe the object we have in view, if pursued with moderation and an honest intention of doing good to our fellow-creatures, is one which ought to be highly commended [hear, hear]. The object we have in view is to sever the connexion that exists at the present between the Christian Church and the State. Now, in all my reading of history I have always found, that wherever Christianity has been united with political power, it has been more or less adulterated by the connexion. It is neither good for the State, nor is it good for the Christian faith. In both cases I think it is mischievous. I think it pollutes the pure streams of truth as given us in the gospel; and it tends not to emancipate men from tyranny, but subjects them rather to the despotism of political power. I have this day had the happiness of being present at a very large meeting of the Bible Society; at that meeting, amongst others, were two bishops of the Church of England; and I was exceedingly glad to hear these two great men bearing witness to the excellency of the Voluntary principle [cheers]. Had they not thought well of that great and good principle, they certainly would not have been there to advocate its cause; but they took a most prominent part in praising the acts and deeds and mighty works which the Voluntary principle, in the shape of a Bible Society, had accomplished, and is accomplishing. They not only spoke of the efficacy of the principle as indicated in the benevolent work of spreading the gospel through the medium of the Bible Society, but they spoke in detail of other voluntary acts. They declared that the great work of converting Catholics to Protestantism, and heathens to a knowledge of the character of the gospel, was accomplished by individuals who volunteered to carry the gospel from house to house, and to read it wherever they carried it to all who were ready to receive it. I did not hear either of these two prelates speak of any great works of this kind that had been achieved by State influence. I heard of no converts made by the clergy of the different parishes; but they attributed the evangelization of the people to those voluntary agents, the colporteurs of the Bible. Well, I thought that was one of the best testimonies which a man could desire to hear from the mouths of the opponents of the Voluntary principle [hear, hear]. They bore testimony that it was working a great work in disseminating the gospel of Christ. I take great courage from this fact. I believe that the time will come when enlightened men in the Church of England itself, will come to right a view of this matter. There are such men in the Church of England; and, indeed, from what was spoken by the two bishops I believe them to be really devout in their desires and efforts for the promulgation of the gospel of peace. It is not with individuals that we find fault, it is the system, the ruinous system, of which we complain, which we condemn, and which we say is an impediment to the spread of the gospel. I came here with the hope that I should have very little to say; and as there are many speakers much more capable than I am, who will address you this evening on this important subject, I will occupy no more of your time, but will at once call upon the Secretary to read the report.

The SECRETARY then read the Annual Report of the society's proceedings.

The Rev. W. WALTERS moved the first resolution:—

That this meeting views with the deepest satisfaction the unabated exertions put forth by the Anti-state-church Association for the diffusion and advocacy of its principles throughout the kingdom, and rejoices at the manifest tendency of public events to deepen the impression which they are calculated to produce.

He spoke as follows:—

It is impossible, sir, to review the history of the great movement we meet this night to promote, and not rejoice in the successive triumphs it has won. Ours is unmingled delight. No note of regret is heard. No drop of bitter mingles with the cup we quaff. We are here to talk of past successes—to congratulate one another on what has been achieved, and to encourage to future struggles. The fathers and founders of the cause are alive at this day. They have attracted around themselves a noble band of intelligent, right-hearted, and earnest men, who are prepared to maintain and spread their principles in all places, while life shall last. They have gained for the cause a hearing in all parts of this land. They have converted enemies, and strengthened the faith of timid and wavering friends. Whereas they were once either ignored, or treated with contempt, now they are mentioned with respect and fear. All attempts to crush them have utterly failed; and from platform, pulpit, and

press, we hear their principles enunciated with clearness and vigour. Thousands of thoughtful, upright men—from the statesman whose abilities command the homage of his country, to the operative, who moves in a narrower sphere—are numbered among their friends. Every way, sir, our march has been onward; and our song to-night is no death dirge over slaughtered truths and fallen hopes, but a thanksgiving hymn. A good cause, sir, will always advance in virtue of its inherent worth. As the sun must ascend till it reach the meridian, however thick the haze or numerous and dark the clouds which obscure its brightness, so every good work is destined to progress, no matter how great the opposition thrown in its way. This cause commenced in the midst of enemies and obstructions. There was violent hostility from quarters whence it expected no favour. For this it was prepared. And there was much misunderstanding, misconception, and calumny from parties whom it might have been supposed would have rendered their earnest and hearty co-operation. For this it was prepared too. In spite of all, this society has become a mighty power in our land. It never was a puny child. Some are sickly from their birth, and we wonder not when they die. But this was healthy and vigorous the first hour it breathed. It early sucked the milk of liberty. It was rocked in the cradle by freemen. Years have passed over its head, and it is now a strong and stalwart boy. There is muscle in the arm, fire in the eye, and daring in the heart. The mind seems conscious of its origin and its destiny. And while we celebrate to-day the eighth anniversary of its birth, it is looking through the vista of the opening future, and anticipating its ultimate greatness and glory. While this Association owes much of its success to its intrinsic worth, it is indebted somewhat to a variety of other causes. Contemporary events have stood in the same position towards it, and have served it in the same manner, as miracles served the Christian faith. They have attracted attention to it; and men having looked at it, its charms have smitten them. One after another they have pledged their affection, and become its sworn friends. Such aids, sir, have been all the great political struggles which of late years we have witnessed. Political and religious liberty are intimately associated. They fall or conquer together. This we might easily prove, and gather from history our illustrations. Hence the sympathy which has been excited in the people of England by the conflicts between freedom and despotism on the continent of Europe—the intense interest with which they have gazed on Italy battling for her rights, and Hungary resisting the tyranny of Austria—the enthusiasm to which they have been wrought by the powerful and thrilling eloquence of a Mazzini, a Gavazzi, and a Kossuth, have all attracted attention to the great question of liberty in the abstract and liberty in its concrete forms. While men have been examining the nature and value of political emancipation, they have necessarily been summoned to study the question of the free exercise of conscience in matters pertaining to religion and God, and have learnt that civil and religious despotism are inalienable brothers, and that the surest way of destroying either is to destroy both. Ecclesiastical events have also assisted in this great work. It is some time ago now, sir, since the *Nonconformist* assured us that the Bishop of Exeter was not a paid agent of this Association. You might have given many a man 500*l.* a year who would have done less service. Unpaid though he be he has worked, and is working hard and successfully. The Gorham case—the Shore case—and all subsequent acts—are so much labour wrought. If you had any life governors, or honorary members of council, you ought unanimously to elect him to such a post. Rely upon it, sir, future historians, as they chronicle the efforts of the early friends of this society, will not forget the name of Henry Phillpotts. Green are the laurels he has won, and fragrant will be his memory in coming time. Neither is he alone. Other bishops are employed in the same cause. There is an impression abroad on many minds that those gentlemen who are clothed in purple and fine linen, and who fare sumptuously every day, live at home at their ease, and, like drones in the hive, are no better than lazy idlers, while they live on the fruits of the hard toil of others. This impression requires to be corrected. Whether they work in this cause from contention or from love, they do work; and therein we rejoice, yea, and will rejoice. The so-called Papal aggression has recently served the interests of this Association. True, it threw dust into the eyes, and almost blinded some of our old friends; but they will recover themselves—are, we may hope, convalescent. Meanwhile it stirred up the fast supporters of our principles to earnest activities, and caused much good seed to be sown. The mighty, yet ineffectual struggles of Evangelical clergymen, on the one hand, and Puseyite clergymen on the other, with the State, which pays both, and, therefore, justly rules both, while they prove, beyond a doubt, the entire subjugation of the priest to the magistrate, are of a kind to rouse men's minds to thoughtful investigation. The Maynooth agitation, though carried on by those who are no friends to our cause, may be pressed into its service. Diocesan synods help us. The speeches of a Horsman and a Hall, in the senate, men will not willingly let die. The expulsion of a Bennett from Knightsbridge, and his subsequent settlement at Frome, have their use. A Whiston's exposure of corruption and wrong will not be forgotten in a day. Well does the Report of the Executive Committee say, that it would be a reflection on the intelligence of the people of this country to suppose that a series of incidents such as these has not done much to disturb that ignorance and prejudice on which the State Church in these

realms has hitherto securely existed. These all, sir, are signs of encouragement. Lookers out from the hill tops discern in these the indications of coming day. They are the tender streaks of light which, as they shoot across the sky, change the darkness of night into the grey of morning. And when men ask us with longing hearts, "Watchmen, what of the night?—watchmen, what of the night?"—we reply, with hope and joy, "The shadows flee away; the day dawneth. The sun of political and ecclesiastical freedom is just ascending to the horizon, and presently there will be the brightness, and beauty, and gladness of unclouded noon." There is one circumstance, sir, which just now we must not overlook. The friends of this Association are aware that while it is in their power to create public opinion, it is not in their power directly to make or unmake laws. The union of the Church with the State in this country is the result of law; and as laws are made in the Commons House of Parliament, and as we are on the eve of a general election let all the friends of religious liberty see for whom they record their votes. We have already a small band of true men in that House. Let us strengthen their hands. All our efforts, so far as the grand object we seek is concerned, will be useless, unless we can so influence public opinion that it shall send as its representatives to the House of Commons, men who will say by their speeches and their votes, "A separation at once and for ever between the spiritual and the secular!—let Government attend to the property, liberty, and life of the subject, and leave his religion to himself and his God." We rejoice to know that some such men will enter the House as the result of the next appeal to the country. We shall look with desire for the calm, conclusive argumentation of Edward Miall, and the fervid appeals of Henry Vincent. Our best wishes will attend them. May their number be multiplied a hundred-fold! Forget not then, gentlemen, that it is on the hustings and in the senate this battle must be fought. There may be, and no doubt will be, a series of struggles. But victory will come at last. Gird yourselves for the fight. The conflict as it nears its end will be hotter than ever. Against us are leagued power, influence, prejudice, wealth, and the strong arm of law. With us are truth, righteousness, and God. Scars may mark the severity of the contest. The palm shall be the token of our success. No roar of cannon—no waving of banners—no beating of drums—no flourish of trumpets—no sounds of revelry and riot, shall spread the news of our victory; but an angel having great power shall cry mightily with a strong voice, "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen;" and the rich and countless blessings of a country emancipated from ecclesiastical thralldom will be our reward! [The rev. gentleman concluded amidst a reiteration of the applause which had frequently greeted him.]

Mr. E. PAXTON HOOD seconded the resolution. He said that half an hour ago he certainly had no idea of his being called upon to address the meeting, and he supposed the only reason why he was asked to speak was because some of the ministers and doctors of divinity had forfeited their pledges [laughter]. He would only occupy two or three minutes in assuring the meeting of the exceeding and hearty affection that he felt to the principles of the Anti-state-church Association. He admired its principles because it appeared to him that the carrying of them out was the only way by which they could save the New Testament from the grasp of infidelity. He was in the habit of travelling to and fro in all parts of the country; and he knew, as no doubt the meeting did, that the New Testament was called pretty generally by a large class of men "the priest's book." Now in order to save the New Testament from such a charge the Church should go entirely free [hear, hear]. She should shake off those claps of State tyranny and espionage which had characterised her, and be satisfied with a fair field and no favour. Then she might expect to win the sympathy of the working classes of this country [applause]. This appeared to him one great reason for the enunciation of the principles of the society whose claims were then advocated. He need not tell the meeting that Christianity was synonymous with freedom. They all knew that it was utterly impossible that there could be Christianity wherever there was slavery or tyranny; and although the protest of Christianity was directed against all tyranny, civil tyranny and civil despotism, still more especially was it directed against all ecclesiastical tyranny [hear, hear]. The very mission of Christianity was to the spirit, to the unbinding and unfettering the spirit of man; and it was only in the very degree in which we could remove the fetters from the human mind, that Christianity could fairly have a hold upon the people of any country [hear]. We knew something of ecclesiastical tyranny in these days, and we knew what had been done to free our country from this evil. He had recently been spending some time in the neighbourhood of a gentleman who rejoiced in the endowment of some sixteen thousand pounds a year for his comfort and delectation [laughter]. That was a pretty equitable state of things—especially for the gentleman who enjoyed it [laughter]. That however was not a solitary case [hear, hear]. He was certain that by enunciating the principles of the Anti-state-church Association, they were doing good service for the Church. They could not be strangers to the fact, that there were thousands of the most exemplary and hard-working curates in this country who were really doing good service in many of the districts for the spiritual welfare of the communities in which they worked. [Hear.] He was not disposed to pour uncharitable anathemas or denunciations against the ministers of any sect or

church, but it was a notorious fact, that there were thousands of earnest, hearty, hard-working men, engaged in a work which they believed to be God's work, with £50, or £60, or £70 a-year for their income, while the rector rejoiced in his £300, or £400, or £500, or perhaps £2,000 or £3,000, a-year. It was only as this principle became not only a fact, but a law in public opinion, that there could be anything like a change in this dispensation of matters [hear, hear]. He really thought, if he were a member of the Church of England, he should say, "By all means separate the Church from any State interference whatever, so that we may have a fair field in public opinion, and go forth in our own voluntary agency, appealing to the public consciences and the private feelings of those around us" [loud cheers]. He did not envy the member of the Church of England who could not say that;—he did not envy his conscience, or his intellect, or anything about him [laughter]. The plea which this Association put forth was simply a plea for justice—religious justice. Their principles were spreading through the length and breadth of the land, as he had some opportunity of knowing. He came from the city of York, and in that neighbourhood these principles were affecting the minds of the people to a very considerable degree. And no wonder; for in that one city, containing 37,000 inhabitants, they had for their edification no less than thirty churches belonging to the Establishment, and something like 150 parsons; and if that was not enough to eat up all the green food round about the country, he did not know what was [cheers and laughter]. These principles, he repeated, which the meeting was assembled to cheer and to sympathize with, were spreading throughout England; and he believed the time was coming when people would say, that they were not only in the highest degree just, but that they were politic likewise [cheers.]

Mr. LANDRIDGE said he had very great pleasure in rising to support the resolution, a pleasure arising from two sources. First, from the deep sympathy which he had with the objects contemplated by the Association; and secondly, because he was connected with the Wesleyan Methodist Society [hear, hear]. He did not wish to be misunderstood. He was not there as the duly appointed and delegated member of that body [laughter]. But he thought he might say, without fear of contradiction, that through the length and breadth of the Connexion the principles on which the Anti-state-church Association was based, were awakening attention, exciting interest, and enlisting sympathy. He was quite sure that the policy which had ruled the destinies of so many thousands of their fellow-creatures had been of the most unaccountable character. With inimitable modesty it had been said, "We are the friends of all, and the enemies of none," and a recent oracle had affirmed that modern Methodism sustained a happy relation, and was very respectably removed from high Churchism on the one hand, and from low Dissent on the other [laughter]. But without further reference to this topic, he would say that the agitation which had for some time convulsed the Wesleyan Society, and which still, to a large extent, was prevailing in it, was destined to produce this among other results—namely, the liberation of a large amount of most important and valuable working material; and unless he was greatly mistaken, that material would be thrown most heartily and unreservedly into the scale of the Anti-state-church Association [hear, hear]. The resolution which he was called upon to support spoke most earnestly and definitely of the principles upon which the Association acted, and asked the meeting to pronounce its sympathy and even approval of the efforts which had been made during the past year to explain and to advocate those principles. When we talked about principles we used a most important word. When we spoke of the principle of any association, we at once proceeded to the root of the matter. There might be many accidents, a great many non-essentials, a great many points of secondary moment; but when we came to the principle of an association, we had got the root of the matter in our hands [hear, hear]. Some seven or eight years ago the principle of this Association was most distinctly and broadly announced. The right of every church to rule its own destiny was fairly stated. Year after year that principle had been examined—discussions had taken place, lectures had been delivered, public meetings had been held, and he thought it might safely be affirmed that the principle had passed securely through all this ordeal, and that it stood before them to-night in all its greatness and in all its importance [hear, hear]. They now placed themselves upon the very point where they stood seven or eight years ago, when they commenced their operations. He knew not any proposition which could be more distinctly self-evident than that which formed the fundamental principle of the Association. He knew of no society which appealed more forcibly to the common sense, the common honesty, and the Christianity of mankind. It seemed to echo the very words of scripture—"Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." It seemed to assert, with all possible distinctness, the spirituality of Christian truth. It appeared to him that the elements of which that Church was composed, and the means employed for sustaining and defending it, must, of necessity, be spiritual in their character—seeing that light had no communion with darkness, that Christ had no concord with Belial, and that God and Mammon could have no

communion with each other [applause]. The principle of the Anti-state-church Association took its stand on the New Testament, asking for more, and pledging itself to be satisfied with no less [cheers]. The resolution justly claimed the approbation of the meeting, as to the means which had been used to diffuse and advocate the principles of the society [hear, hear]. There were many gentlemen who withheld their approval of those proceedings who had been asked to show a more excellent way, but they had failed to do so; they grumbled with the steps that had been taken, yet were not disposed to take any steps themselves. He thought that a caricature which appeared in *Punch* some years ago illustrated, in some measure, the spirit to which he referred. That notable individual figured on the pages of his weekly journal the outline of a well-known lord in the upper House, who was not for working remarkably or harmoniously with his peers. He was represented as being addressed by the Lord-Chancellor with reference to some vote which he was to give upon a particular measure. The Chancellor said, "Content, or Non-Content;" and, between a grunt and a growl, the noble lord replied, "Oh, Non-Content, of course;" and the verse underneath the illustration might serve to show the spirit of the people to whom he alluded:—

"Content, indeed, I never was,
From childhood's dawn till now,
And I should greatly like to know
The statement I'd allow."

[cheers and laughter.] One of the most important fields of the society's operations during the past year was, undoubtedly, the publication department. Steps had been taken in that direction; and, he believed that every thoughtful man would hail the circumstance as one of the brightest omens of the movement. The history of our own country and the history of our Church, seemed to need a thorough revision, and in some of the books which had been issued from the Anti-state-church depository, large contributions had been made towards supplying this need. "The Footsteps of our Forefathers, what they Suffered and what they Sought," was a contribution worthy of the highest praise [hear, hear]. It was only the other day that he was stumbling over a page or two of history, published by no less a person than the Rev. Michael Augustus Gathercole [laughter], who, in enlightening the darkness of his parishioners, gravely told them that Dissent was commenced by Popish Jesuit priests, who had greatly assisted its progress ever since. He stated that the Bishop of Rome, finding he could not bring the ancient Episcopal Church of England and Queen Elizabeth over to his own absurd religion, sent over a host of Jesuit priests into this country that they might divide and harass the Church. In another place (to show his accuracy in an historical point of view) he referred to their great and noble Nonconformist forefather, Oliver Cromwell [cheers], speaking of whom he said that when the Nonconformists got the upper hand in the time of that butchering Dissenter, they barbarously murdered their excellent and pious king, insulted, harassed, and plundered nearly 7,000 excellent clergymen, imprisoned and murdered many exemplary ministers of Christ, and thousands of poor Churchmen, because they could not conscientiously swallow the rebellious and wicked notions which their Dissenting enemies wanted to force upon them [cheers and laughter]. The meeting would not fail to remember that in some of our school histories (those unpretending and unassuming works), altogether false notions of many great historical characters were instilled into the minds of the children; and for this reason, if for no other, every thoughtful man would hail the publication of these new volumes, as one of the brightest signs of the times. He would call upon those friends who had the interest of the Association at heart, to rally round those who were diffusing light and knowledge upon these important subjects [hear, hear]. The cause of the Association was entirely in the hands of its members; as their support was accorded so would their principles extend [applause].

Mr. NEESOM (of the City-road), here said he wished to make a few observations on the resolution, before it was put to the meeting; and, having received the permission of the Chairman to do so, he said he very much approved of the resolution then before the meeting, but he thought it would be greatly improved by an addition. He thought, with Mr. Walters, that political and religious freedom were inseparable; it was impossible that one should flourish while the other was dead; and it was his opinion, therefore, at the present juncture, that the Anti-state-church Association should give a definite opinion as regarded the line of conduct they intended to pursue at the forthcoming election [cheers]. He would propose that the following addition be made to the resolution:—"And this meeting is further of opinion, that it is the duty of every Nonconformist to withhold his vote and interest from any person seeking to obtain a seat in Parliament, who objects to stand pledged to use his best endeavours to obtain, by legislative enactment, the separation of Church and State, with the least possible delay" [cheers]. [It was here stated that a subsequent resolution touched upon the subject of the election.] He was reminded that there was another resolution bearing upon this subject; but he thought delays were dangerous [laughter]. If his amendment were passed now, it would only be confirmed by a subsequent resolution. He was an out-and-out Nonconformist himself, and he was anxious that some decisive steps should be taken in these

matters [hear]. There had been a great hubbub lately about Popery and the aggression, as it was called; and he thought that those of their friends who had taken part in denouncing the self-made bishops, had acted on a retrograde movement [hear, hear], and quite unbecoming men who had pledged themselves to use every lawful means to obtain a separation between Church and State. Fine speeches were all very well, but there must be action. It mattered little what a man had to say; the main question was, what was he doing among his fellow-men? Really, according to the present state of affairs, there seemed to be every appearance of a large number of Nonconformists becoming imbecile [laughter]. To wit, in the borough of the Tower Hamlets [loud cheers]. In that borough, some of the professed leading Nonconformists had allied themselves to a man as their representative at the next election—Sir William Clay [hisses]—who had declared, in his (Mr. Neesom's) hearing, that the time could never arrive when the separation of the Church and the State would be a practical measure, until society was completely remodelled [laughter]. Why, his children and grandchildren might say, the very same thing, and postpone the thing indefinitely. He also stated most positively, that he thought it right to deny the right of voting to the adult population of the country. By that declaration it was evident that he wished to uphold the present tyrannical system, so that the time might never arrive when there could be any separation of Church and State at all. As to the remodelling of society, it was all fudge [laughter]. Society would be remodelled in proportion as men became intelligent enough to remodel it. It was a progressive movement, and it would be taken up by those who came after us, when we were gathered home to our forefathers. But we could not afford to wait until then [laughter]. When society was remodelled—that was, when we were all asleep—such changes might be expected to take place. Now, however, was the accepted time; and the people were determined to use every moral means in their power to bring about the desired end, for the benefit of the whole human race. He declared his conviction that so-called Nonconformists, who would so far stultify themselves as to cling to such a rotten bough as Sir William Clay, did not deserve the name of Nonconformists [loud cheers, and cries of "Question"]. There was a man in the House of Commons whom these professed Nonconformists had deserted, and were now inclined to reject. And for what reason? Was he too earnest for them? Had he too much integrity about him? The name of that man, he need not say, was George Thompson [loud and long continued cheers, and cries of "Question"]. He was in the hands of the Chairman and the meeting, and he would not digress further on this point. He did not know whether any one would second the amendment he had made respecting an addition to the original resolution. He brought it forward as a private individual, belonging to no clique or party whatever, and as a determined Nonconformist, who would never shrink from avowing his principles [applause].

Mr. E. MIALL: I rise simply to a matter of order. I should be the last man to interpose in any way to prevent the freest possible discussion at any of our meetings; and however I might think it indiscreet on the part of earnest friends of this Association to introduce matters that do not properly belong to it, yet I would give great latitude even in that respect. But all things in their proper order [hear, hear]. We have a resolution respecting the elections. This amendment respects that resolution, and it should be undoubtedly proposed when the resolution is brought before the meeting, and not till then [hear, hear].

As no one was found to second the amendment, it fell to the ground.

The original resolution was then put to the meeting and unanimously adopted.

The Rev. H. SOLLY moved the second resolution, as follows:—

That the recent gratuitous declaration of the Earl of Derby, that it will be a principal object of his Government to uphold and extend the influence of the Church established by law, and to resist any aggression on its rights and privileges, is regarded by this meeting as an encouragement to increased activity on the part of the friends of this movement, and as betraying a consciousness that public opinion is fast ripening for a successful assault on so anomalous an institution.

He said he admired the resolution very much because the difference between strong folks and weak ones was this—that while the weak were discouraged by opposition, the strong were made stronger by it. If there was any of the right stuff in them, a little defiance and determination on the part of those who resisted [them] would put [them] in good heart [hear]. Many years ago, when rowing on the river, he felt rather exhausted, and remarked to his brother who was with him, "I think I shall give up, for I am getting tired." An old waterman was in the boat at the time, and said,—"Lor, sir! why that's just when you should pull hardest" [laughter]. He had often thought of his expression since, and he thought it uncommonly good advice. Strange as it might seem, he found that he could pull harder then than he could before. So it was with all movements such as these [hear]. The Earl of Derby, in his recent statement, had given a good reason in favour of the sentiment with which the resolution concluded. He was reminded by what had taken place of a party of school boys having on a dark winter's night to go through a churchyard, where they had been told there was a terrible ghost. No doubt the feeling of

each of the boys would be, on approaching the churchyard, "Oh! won't I give him a tremendous punch" [laughter]. Now, the Earl of Derby had heard that there was some sort of phantom association of which he evidently stood in great awe, and this probably led to his declaration. No doubt he had good reason to fear; but the Association was anything but a ghostly one—it was real flesh and blood [hear, hear]. The object of the Association was not hostile to the Church of England as a church, but as an establishment. They greatly admired the piety, and zeal, and devotedness of many of the ministers of the Church of England; and the very fact that there was so much that was good in that Church, and in her members, was one reason why she should be relieved of the burden which hung like a dead weight upon her—he meant her connexion with the State [hear]. He believed that those clergymen who were the most earnest and active in their duties, would be the first to perceive in what a false position they were placed. It was the idea of the late excellent Dr. Arnold, that the State should be a Church, and that the Church should be a State; and there were many who advocated the alliance which the Association deprecated on a similar ground, urging that the State was really the Church. It was true that the Church often adopted the principles on which the State acted. The members of the State often acted upon the principle of expediency; they said, "Such and such a course is right, because it is necessary;" they did not act upon the high ground of principle without reference to consequences. Were this not so—were the State always acting on principle only—there would be no occasion to discuss the question; the Church would be the State, and the country would be in such a condition that we should have no need of a Government at all [hear]. He believed the present connexion of the Church with the State crippled the energies of the former, while it conferred no benefit on the latter. He concluded by expressing a hope that Earl Derby would soon discover that he had not a party of ghosts to deal with. Genuine ghosts avoided the light, and vanished at cock-crow; but they (the Association) loved the light, and the more light they had the stronger they grew [applause].

The Rev. W. FORSTER seconded the resolution.—

He said:—The statement of Earl Derby was but another cry of "the Church in danger" [hear, hear]. It was not, however, a timorous, womanly kind of supplication, but an antagonistic defiance, the war-whoop of an enemy. In his humble judgment the present Prime Minister was not a man to sue for mercy to disarm a foe, on the principles of a peace congress. High, stern, combative, chivalrous, he had put on his helmet, his coat of mail, boots and spurs; had mounted his fiery charger, grasped his quivering spear, and was ready to do battle for the honour of his lady-love, the Church, in defiance of all comers, let them come from whatever quarter they may [cheers, and laughter]. He could not but admire the out-spokenness, the courage, and the defiant tone of this proudest of England's proud peers; and he preferred it greatly, as an individual, to the hollow promises, the sham sympathy, and the treacherous support of their plausible, patronizing, pretentious, ancient friends and allies, the Whigs [loud cheers]. But what was the meaning of this warlike tone on the part of his lordship? Why did he throw himself into this fighting attitude? What foe or foes was he measuring with his piercing and flashing eye? He said distinctly that he and his Government would steadfastly resist all aggression on the rights, the privileges, and the properties of the Protestant Establishment of this realm, come from whatever quarter, or backed by whatever authority, they may. He seemed to think that his Church was in danger; and he dreamed that he was Heaven's sent champion to defend her. He had said—indirectly, at all events—that it was the highest aim and the greatest work of an English statesman, notwithstanding the vast secular affairs of this great empire, to maintain the connexion between the Church and the State untouched, untroubled, and unendangered. He seemed to think there was some peril, and so undoubtedly there was. His instincts told him right. There never was a time when there were such thoughts and sentiments unfavourable to the Establishment of this country, growing in the great heart of this mighty people [hear]. Almost everything that occurred—he knew not how it was, but there seemed to be a Providence about it—served to show in a stronger light the imbecility, the absurdity, the preposterousness of the union between the Church and State as existing in this realm. The resolution led him to refer to some of the reasons why public opinion was fast ripening for a successful assault on so anomalous an institution as the State Church—an assault which would give his lordship plenty to do if he would undertake to defend it. That movement which had filled the people with surprise on the part of the Roman Catholic Church was ripening public opinion for an assault upon the Establishment in a very different way from that which Earl Derby and his friends seemed to suppose. The attitude, the tone, the demand, the aggression, as it had been called—and he did not object to the term—of the Roman Catholic Church had had a deep effect on the minds of the people of England. Thoughtful men were beginning to see that the real danger to Protestantism from the Papal movement arose chiefly out of the connexion that existed between the Protestantism that they would preserve and the political power of this land [cheers]. It was but reasonable and natural that members of a church that once possessed to a great extent the cathedrals, the parish churches, the universities, the

endowed schools, the ecclesiastical property of England, should look with longing eyes and longing hearts to these things, and seek to give no rest to the minds of the people until they got them into their possession again. This feeling was very strong in reference to Ireland. If the Papal Church had come to the conclusion that all possible connexion with political power was injurious to her freedom, her independence, her purity, and her prosperity, the affair would be very different; but she had not come to that conclusion, and she was prepared to take back those old possessions from which she considered herself to have been unfairly ousted. The consequence was that people were beginning to see that there would be no rest to the land until the bone of contention was taken away by the separation of the Church from the State [hear, hear], until the property which was now used for ecclesiastical purposes was employed for the promotion of secular objects. There was no danger whatever of Romanism again becoming the dominant religion of England [a voice, "Yes there is," followed by hisses and cheers]. Public opinion, he repeated, was in direct antagonism to the Papal system, and it would never rise again in this land, but to be completely overthrown [cheers]. But what were Dissenters doing in order to rid the nation of a State Church, which was the great fosterer of Popery? In what position did many of the leading Nonconformists of the country stand in relation to that Association? [hear, hear.] Where were the Jameses, the Jays, the Parsonses, the Leifchilds, the Binneys, and others who were the leaders and guides, the stars and the banners, in the Dissenting world? [hear, hear.]

Gentle shepherd, tell me where?

[Loud and prolonged cheering, and cries of "Bravo."] He had been asked this question many a time—tauntingly and ironically asked it [hear, hear]. But let them look at the history of all great movements by which the Ruler of the world had benefited his human creatures [hear, hear]. Did we not know that the great mass of the men stood aloof from such movements who ought to have been with them [hear, hear]? If the present were an isolated case, it would be very discouraging indeed; but they knew that it was the same with all the great movements by which God had blessed the world [hear, hear, hear]. The Christian movement which had its beginning in Judea, the great Protestant Reformation which began with Luther, and the great revival of religion which began with Wesley, all commenced with a few individuals, and with means the most unlikely, but which brought about the grand results which sprang out of their labour [cheers.] If some of the Pagan priesthood had been taken to Jerusalem and shown the apostles as they were assembled in the upper room praying for power from on high, they would have seen a few working men, chiefly consisting of uneducated fishermen; a few men without culture and without polish, with very few ideas beyond those they had received from their departed Lord; and if these Pagan philosophers had been told that these men were in a few days to start a movement which would ultimately overturn their philosophy, which they loved, and which they believed, those philosophers and priests would have treated the statement with contempt and scorn [cheers]. But they began and carried on the movement, died in the work, and others took it up, till the mighty structure of Pagan worship was hurled from its foundations, and the banner of the Cross raised upon its ruins, with the simple motto inscribed thereon, "By this we conquered" [loud applause]. And if the popes, and cardinals, and priests of Rome, had been told what Luther would do, they would only have mocked at the thought [hear, hear]. So might it be said of all the movements which had ever had a great effect upon men; they might all have been turned into contempt and scorn. It was only when victory was declared that shouts of triumph were heard ascending on every hand [cheers]. Now, although the Anti-state-church Association was not supported as it ought to be, yet there was within it all the elements that ever stirred the minds and consciences of a mighty nation [hear, hear]. They had the abuses, the absurdities, and the inutilities of the State Church itself [hear, hear]. They had the injustice of maintaining, at the cost of all the people, a religion of one party, or sect, or denomination. They had the folly of maintaining an institution, at millions upon millions of pounds, constituted by the State, which would attain its religious ends infinitely better if left to be supported by those who prized and loved it [hear, hear]. They had the solemn fact that a large body of men were maintained in this country, for the purpose of instructing and elevating the mind of the people, who are notoriously the obstructors of all social and political improvement [hear, and cheers]. They were surrounded with a system contrary to the word of God, inconsistent with sound reason, derogatory to the Divine authority, detrimental to the cause of freedom, and, in short, opposed to the whole well-being of humanity [applause]. All these things they had as the elements and means by which to act upon the popular mind [hear, hear]. Men, moreover, were beginning to awake; to open their eyes and to receive the light [hear, hear]. The men who went forth from that Association to speak to the people could always command audiences, and a ready response to their statements and appeals [hear, hear]. He had, of late, as a deputation from the Association, visited a number of the chief towns in the kingdom; and two facts had particularly struck his mind—first, the absence of the leading Dissenters, who ought to have cheered on the work by their presence; and secondly, the presence of a very large body of working men and smaller tradesmen, who well understood the arguments that were employed, manifesting the information they had received, and

who heartily entered into the projects which were laid before them for their adoption [hear, hear]. Now, he was prepared to maintain that they could succeed without the parties who had kept aloof [loud cheers]; but they could not have succeeded without the parties who had come [renewed applause]. They must have "the people"—and these, they felt, were coming rapidly over to the side of the Association [hear, hear]. These were the parties who would decide the elections, and the elections would ultimately decide the question, by the men who were sent to the House of Commons [hear, hear, and cheers]. This question was now becoming much better understood than it formerly was; and he believed that in every town and city in this empire they had a regiment of men well trained and disciplined, who well understood the question of the separation of the Church from the State, and, when combined, would constitute a giant army of brave men, who were well disposed to fight, with spiritual weapons, the great battle of religious freedom on England's soil, the best place in all the world for the conflict [cheers]. The efforts of the Association were telling upon the people [hear]. He did not speak this rashly, but advisedly, and from personal observation [hear, hear]. In the towns whither he had lately gone, he had not been asleep [hear]. He had looked about him, and he saw there indications which convinced him that the people were ripening for action [hear, hear]. There were low moanings of the wind, and gentle upheavings of the sea, which were only precursors of the coming storm [applause]. A dark spirit appeared on the clear and calm horizon; it was no bigger than a man's hand, but it would swell into a thunder-cloud; when the roar of its artillery would be heard, and the vivid lightning would be seen to strike the turrets in which ecclesiastical power had ensconced and entrenched itself, in order that it might dig down and utterly destroy the freedom of England [loud applause]. This Anti-state-church Association was so constructed and managed, that it could lay hold of all the elements of discontent against the Established Church [hear, hear]. Like Aaron's rod, it could swallow up all the rest; and it could also digest and assimilate them, and turn them all to its own aggrandisement [laughter and applause]. Earl Derby would be called upon to defend his favourite child [hear]. And what would he defend? [hear, hear.] Its rights; its privileges; its possessions? Yes; but what more? Its everlasting infamy, imbecility, weakness, and helplessness [laughter and loud applause]. It was a child; it had always been a child, and it always would be a child [applause]. For three hundred years it had been under the nursing fathers and the nursing mothers of England's Kings and Queens [laughter and applause]. And Earl Derby had of late been appointed its under nurse [renewed laughter and cheers]. Its limbs had been put into the bands of State enactments; it had been fed on the pap of State pay; it had been rocked all that period, 300 years, in the cradle of State patronage, it had been lulled to sleep by the intonations of the State lullaby, and yet Earl Derby found the child crying and kicking [laughter and cheering]. He determined to silence, if he could, those who had frightened the little innocent [much laughter and cheers]. He set to work to rock the cradle again, and he thought he heard Earl Derby singing the nursery hymn:—

Hush, my babe, lie still and slumber,
Valiant soldiers guard thy bed,
Royal blessings without number,
Gently falling on thy head.

Sleep, my babe! thy food and raiment,
House and home, the State provides;
And without thy care or payment,
All thy wants it well supplies.

How much better thou'rt attended
Than the Christian Church of old;
Her no kingly care defended,
From the keenest want and cold.

Soft and easy is thy cradle,
She was rocked in stormy blast;
Not e'en crumbs from royal table
Went to serve her poor repast.

Though, my babe, great danger hovers
Round thy sword-protected home;
Yet my eye thy foe discovers,
And this hand will seal their doom.

Then hush, my babe, lie still and slumber,
Since a Derby guards thy bed;
Heavenly blessings without number
Still shall fall upon thy head.

[Immense laughter and cheering.]

The collection was now made.

EDWARD MIAL, Esq., rose, amidst loud and repeated cheering, to move the last resolution. He said: The resolution I have to propose has reference to the ensuing general election. Although it may not be worded in precisely the same stringent manner as the amendment which was moved upon the first resolution, I think you will see that those who have the conduct of the affairs of this Association are earnestly desirous, as far as they can possibly influence their supporters, to bring all those supporters to the assertion of their principles at the hustings and the polling-booth. The resolution is:—

That, in the prospect of a general election, this meeting earnestly exhorts the opponents of State interference with religion, to avail themselves to the utmost of the facilities which it will afford for the furtherance of their views; giving their unflinching support to Anti-state-church candidates; pressing their opinions upon others at present imperfectly acquainted with, or unprepared to adopt them; and generally diffusing information, and employing reasonings, adapted to exert a seasonable influence on the popular mind.

It will scarcely be imputed to myself, that I have shown any disposition to waver or flinch in the advocacy of this question, whether at a public meeting, where it might have the response of enthusiastic cheers, or on the front of the hustings, where it was to be drowned in the yells of opponents. But while I am fully and perfectly convinced that there may occur, and have occurred, seasons in the history of our question when it became us to put our followers, so far as our influence could do so, under a stringent law to withhold their vote from any who could not represent their principles,—I am free to confess, that looking at the country at large—looking at the position of many agricultural constituencies, where it would be utterly impossible to carry an Anti-state-church candidate, but may be possible to carry a candidate who would enlarge the suffrage—I do not consider it would be wise in us to bind ourselves at this time by a resolution that would tie the hands of several of our friends in regard to civil liberty; which liberty, if we can only promote, we promote at the same time the accomplishment of our own great object [hear, hear]. There is no one in this assembly that feels more deeply, more earnestly, more solemnly than myself, a desire to separate the Church from the State [hear, hear]; and I can clearly see, that that desire can be most effectually forwarded by sending to Parliament men who, even if they would not pledge themselves to what we desire, would pledge themselves to give the working-men their franchise [applause]; and they, I am fully convinced, being enfranchised, will instantly make this one of the most practical subjects of agitation [renewed applause]. I therefore humbly submit, that in the present state of parties, and in the prospect of an early reform in Parliament, if we electors do our duty, we should tie the hands of no man as to civil liberty, but say this much, and impress it upon the minds of our supporters, "Help forward the suffrage wherever you can—help forward the separation of Church and State wherever you can; but if you cannot do both, help forward the suffrage, and the other will be secure" [hear, hear]. Now, permit me to say, this question occupies a far different position in the public mind, and in relation to the legislature, to that which it occupied a very few years ago. When I first commenced writing upon the subject, about eleven years ago, there were very few of my friends who did not regard it as a topic upon which they ought to talk warily; and very few Dissenters, especially of those who aspired to be the leaders of Dissent, who did not toss their heads at the question as an abstract idea. It was madness, or next to madness, to present this topic at that time at an election, to obtain the verdict of a constituency upon it. That time has gone by. Our Association has been at work—hundreds of thousands of our fellow-citizens have been brought under the sound of the sentiments to which you have listened to-night—hundreds of thousands of little missives, in the shape of tracts, have been gradually permeating the fibres of society. And now, not only have we a few men in the House of Commons to whom we can refer as understanding our principles, and willing to give them prominence there, but we have likewise a confident prospect which I trust will be realized within a few months, of increasing their number by at least a score [applause]. So that in the next Parliament, we may expect to have a body of men fully conversant with the principles of Anti-state-churchism, familiar with the feelings of Dissenters at large, and earnestly desirous of setting the Church free—men who will be ready, I hope, to organize, to band themselves together, to become a phalanx in that House, and to render themselves an instrument fitted for the expression of the principles and feelings of Anti-state-churchmen the kingdom all over. Now, this I regard as a great gain [hear, hear]. I am well aware that there are those, even at the present day, who regard the agitation of this question in Parliament as perfectly futile—who tell us that the separation of Church and State is a mere abstraction, which nobody can understand or intelligently explain. Gentlemen, this is no new thing. That which is disagreeable, and is to be tabooed, but cannot be tabooed upon just and practical reasoning, is got rid of by giving it a bad name, and letting it be hung up [a laugh]. So with the separation of Church and State. Not a man understands what it is. But if this be so, surely a man cannot understand what the union of Church and State is [a laugh, and cheers]—for the separation is just the opposite condition of things to that. 'Tis an abstraction, they say. So was Free-trade once—no one now ventures to call it so [cheers]. The truth is, it is only the descriptive term that is an abstraction—the policy for which it stands is practical enough [hear, hear]. It is just because it is so practical—because it will go so closely home to the business and bosom of honourable members—that it is treated with supercilious indifference, and characterised as an abstraction. It simply means, the repeal of all laws that inflict penalties or confer privileges on account of a man's faith, and the resumption of national funds now enjoyed by religious bodies [hear, hear]. There is an hon. baronet, a candidate for re-election in a neighbouring borough [cries of "Hear, hear"], who, being enlightened on this point, is really astonished to find that he has been voting for the separation of Church and State in part without knowing it [laughter]—and he rather imputes it to us as a fault, that we are putting forward under that title, that abstraction, things which have occupied the attention of Parliament over and over again. Now, I do think that it is not very becoming in any candidate for Parliamentary honours, and more specially one seeking the confidence of a large constituency, that he should not have inquired into this subject before now; and the gentlemen who say

they cannot understand the question are gentlemen that ought not to be adopted [loud cheers]. It is insinuated that because this subject will be brought before Parliament—as it certainly will be [cheers]—it will be put forward just in that shape which will ensure the ridicule and contempt of all practical men. They might give us credit for a little common sense [hear, hear, and laughter]. There are some folks who, though in earnest, have not taken leave of their senses—who, though meaning to do a thing that is ultra in itself, will do it in the wisest and most practical way they are able to devise [hear, hear]. The subject may be brought before Parliament, not once in a session merely—and not merely by a direct motion on which the vote of the House shall be taken—but again and again; and yet in such a shape that the House shall have no fault to find with its irrelevance to the business before it [hear]. What are the subjects likely to occupy the attention of the next Parliament? [Mr. Miall named the Canadian Clergy Reserves; as the first but was informed by the Chairman that, as Earl Grey had omitted to take the sense of Parliament upon the resolutions of the Canadian Legislature, within a given time, those resolutions became law.] I suppose very early in the next session we shall have a motion for the repeal of the Maynooth College Endowment Act. Would it be possible to let such a discussion come on in a House where there are between twenty and thirty Anti-state Churchmen, without their opposing to that an amendment condemning all endowments by the State? Can you conceive a finer position for any body of men than those who hold our principles will then possess? [hear, hear]—able to turn to both parties, and say, "You are striving together for the exclusive use of what belongs to the people at large." And this is not the only subject. Almost every night there is something turning up to call for the interposition of an Anti-state-church speech. And most assuredly when we have leavened the Parliamentary mind, and enlightened the whole House as to what we are at, it will be easy enough, and practical enough, to move for a select committee to inquire into the extent, possessions, and operation of the Church—into the effect which it has produced, morally and spiritually, upon the country. Thus, you see, it will be an abstract question just as long as we allow it to be so, and no longer [cheers]. When we have placed upon the records of the House of Commons, time after time, motions embodying our principle, Anti-state-churchism will have become, if Nonconformists and the English public will it so, a practical question. One word more. You have your duty to perform—electors especially. I may say, without giving offence—and if I do give offence, I shall say it [cheers]—wherever you can support an Anti-state-church candidate, do it [loud cheers]. When it is impossible to introduce an Anti-state-church candidate, well catechize those who come forward, and enlighten them on the principles you hold. But, be assured of this, we have not yet put forward half nor a quarter of the strength, the electoral strength, we possess [hear, hear]. If we send, as I hope we shall, twenty or thirty men this time, at any future general election we might send six times that number. Dissenters constitute a moiety of the Liberal electors in most large boroughs; and they have, hitherto, simply, however generously, allowed the mere Liberal politicians to select both members, without reference to Anti-state-church principles. If Nonconformists in the large constituencies will take time by the forelock, organize for themselves, and stand well by one another, they may insist upon nominating one of the members. This has been done in some places—it has been done in places where you would least expect it. I would also urge upon all electors, having done their duty at this coming election, to prepare for the next—for no one knows what may happen. Above all things, look out for men in your own neighbourhoods whom you know and can trust. And lastly, when you get such a body of men in Parliament, don't desert them when the pinch comes. If you want them to have anything like strength, back them up. Show that they possess your confidence, and represent your principles, and those of large masses of their fellow-countrymen. This will give weight to their arguments, vividness to their illustrations, power to their movements. Depend upon it, the House of Commons, after all, is the fairest arena for any man that has an idea, and is in earnest to promote it. Your duty, therefore, is plain—first, elect your member; secondly, sustain him. Show that he is a power, and that if he were withdrawn, that power would find another representative. Let us congratulate ourselves that we have already in the House "a faithful few among the faithless found"—and that we have one not ashamed to preside over a meeting like the present [applause]. I thank you, sir, for being amongst us this evening, and I leave this resolution to the sympathy of the meeting [renewed and prolonged applause].

Mr. J. GIBBS, of Aylesbury, seconded the motion. He was for free-trade in religion as well as in the bounties of Providence [cheers]. He congratulated the last speaker on the prospect of becoming member for Rochdale. He hoped the electors of this great city would reject the man who had so miserably disappointed them, and who had defended church-rates as "a national homage to religion" [loud applause].

Rev. J. GAWTHORN, of Derby, as a constituent of the hon. gentleman in the chair, and well pleased with his conduct, had great pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to him.

W. EDWARDS, Esq., seconded the resolution, which was carried with great cheering.

The CHAIRMAN said in reply he had great pleasure in being the representative of Derby, where they

took such intelligent views of all questions, especially this. Mr. Gladstone had now before Parliament a bill attempting something like an independent establishment in Australia; providing that the regulations agreed to by the clergy and laity of the Church for its discipline should have the force of law. That was the beginning of church-rates in this country, and of all Establishments. He had presided with great pleasure over these proceedings [applause].

BRITISH AND FOREIGN SAILORS' SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this society was held on Tuesday last, at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle-street. The chair was taken by T. Hankey, Esq., the Treasurer, in the absence of the President, Earl Ducie.

The meeting having been opened by prayer,

The CHAIRMAN said: Having been appointed treasurer to the society, he did not think it consistent with his duty to refuse to take the chair, in the absence of Earl Ducie, when he was applied to for that purpose. The professed object of the society was the religious instruction of the sea-going part of the population of this country. The sailors of England were a body of men very peculiarly situated with regard to the opportunities of religious instruction; they were, if he might use the term, an "extra-parochial" class, who had not the opportunity of direct pastoral aid. Such, at least, was the mercantile navy of this country [hear]. It was impossible, however desirable it might be, that every ship should be provided with spiritual instruction from the ministers of the Establishment. It was, therefore, expedient that members of the Church of England who were anxious to see so large a class of their fellow-creatures instructed in religion, should seek some other aid than that which was ordinarily afforded by the Church to which they belonged—to seek, in fact, extra-parochial aid for the welfare of the sailors. The society had existed eighteen or nineteen years, and its position was such that it might now be considered on a permanent basis [hear]. He most sincerely trusted that it would be supported by all who took an interest in the welfare of the British seaman. For himself, as an extensive shipowner, he thought when it was stated to him that, in consequence of the decease of the late treasurer, it was necessary for the good order of the institution that some one who took an interest in the welfare of seamen should fill the vacant office, that he was not justified in refusing the invitation [applause]. He accepted office when many other things occupied his attention; at the same time, he did not intend it as a sinecure. His desire was to exert himself, as far as he had the opportunity, in promoting the object which not only every shipowner, but every person in the country should have at heart [applause].

The SECRETARY then read the annual Report, which gave a highly interesting detail of the society's operations in various sea ports of England by means of missionaries, the distribution of Scripture tracts, and the like.

The Rev. Mr. HOLLIS moved the adoption of the report. He dwelt upon the necessity that existed for Christians setting aside their sectarian differences, and uniting with one heart in the spread of the gospel among their fellow-creatures; not overlooking the seamen of the country, who were men peculiarly situated, and possessing more than ordinary claims upon Christian sympathy. As they looked upon the sweaver who was taught to fear an oath, upon the impure mariner who had become chaste, upon many a household in which happiness and order and godliness had been introduced, let them not despise the work simply because it had been accomplished by what might appear to some an irregular agency and without episcopal ordination [hear, hear].

The Rev. Mr. BLOOM (one of the survivors from the wreck of the "Amazon") next addressed the meeting. He gave a detailed account of the sufferings he underwent, and the scenes he passed through on the night of the wreck of that ill-fated vessel. He desired, he said, to give God the glory for his rescue from that fearful catastrophe, and should ever consider himself a monument of divine mercy.

The Rev. W. HARBUTT (from the Navigators' Islands) moved the second resolution:—

That this meeting contemplates with unmingled satisfaction a zealous missionary spirit in connexion with the great principles of Christianity, and anticipates from the well-known natural courage and ardour of their class important and valuable aid in circulating the knowledge of the gospel throughout the world.

He said he thought too much odium had been attached to sailors generally, especially in the islands of the Pacific, on account of a few disreputable men who did not deserve the name of seamen; and who were ready to commit any kind of atrocity on the natives who came into their power. He narrated some interesting details connected with the visits of pious seamen to the Polynesian Islands, which were attended with the most gratifying results. On one island, he said, more than a hundred persons regularly assembled for worship on the Sabbath. One morning, however, only five or six, instead of the usual number, attended. This deficiency arose from the fact that several Englishmen and Americans, who had come among the natives for sandal wood, had told them that the Christians had come to deceive them; that there was no God in America or in England; that Jehovah and Jesus Christ were false Gods, and that the sickness of which the natives

often died was caused by the Christians coming amongst them. There can be no doubt that the death of Mr. Williams and his fellow-labourer was caused by the atrocities committed some time before by an English captain—a man whom he (Mr. Harbutt) knew well. He urged upon the meeting the importance of sending forth religious and evangelical seamen, who, in their intercourse with the natives of different lands, could not fail to exercise a salutary, and, it might be, a saving influence on their minds.

The Rev. JOHN CLARKE, of Brown's Town, Jamaica, seconded the resolution. He took a deep interest in the society, which he particularly admired on account of its unsectarian principles. He had made four voyages across the Atlantic, during which it had been his privilege to labour for the spiritual good of sailors. About seventeen years ago, when, with a trembling heart, he left his native land, as he was pacing the quarter-deck of the vessel in which he was sailing, a seaman came to him, and introduced himself as a Christian brother, administering to him words of consolation and comfort [hear, hear]. With that good man he made arrangements for holding religious meetings during the voyage, to read the word of God, and explain it to the others. One manifested great anxiety about his soul; soon after he landed at Jamaica he died, enjoying a good hope of eternal life [hear, hear]. The speaker then referred to the bad example set by sailors in merchant ships to the natives of the islands at which they touched. If sailors were converted, they would prove a great help to the missionaries, and be the means of extending the gospel wherever they went.

The collection was then made. The Chairman announced a donation of £20 from the Earl of Ducie, and two other donations of £5.

WILLIAM JANSON, Esq., of Lloyds, moved:—

That, in the judgment of this meeting, the British and Foreign Sailors' Society has strong claims upon the merchants, shipowners, and underwriters of this country, seeing that its object is to improve and elevate the character of those men to whose care property to so immense an amount is constantly entrusted.

He most cordially agreed with the purport of the resolution; but he thought the Chairman, in asking him to propose it, had "caught a Tartar" [laughter]. He was one of those who thought we should never get on in the improvement of sailors, and other men of the same class, unless temperance were more generally insisted upon. He had himself been a teetotaller for seventeen years; and he did not think there should be total abstinence in the forecabin and not in the cabin [hear, hear]. He believed the sailor would become more valuable in proportion as he became a religious character.

JOHN ROGERS, Esq., denied the insinuation that sailors were generally a drunken body of men. He believed there was not so much drunkenness at sea as on land. It was, he believed, considered to be necessary, that, in hot climates, where the men were apt to drink a large quantity of water, they should have a little spirits mixed with it [hear, hear]. He pressed upon the meeting the importance of educating sailors before they went to sea, that they might secure a better class of men for the service.

Captain COOKE, R.N. (who took the chair, as Mr. Hankey was compelled to leave), said he perfectly agreed with what Mr. Janson had remarked respecting the value of temperance; but if sailors were made Christians, they would be sure to be temperate. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. T. DUFFIELD (Rector of Bow), moved:—

That while pursuing their avocation, and thus ministering to the increase of the wealth and power of their country, seamen are exposed to privations, hardships, and dangers (too lamentably exemplified in recent melancholy disasters), which should be sufficient to elicit on their behalf every effort which philanthropy and Christianity can command.

Every one, he said, must sympathize with those who did business in deep waters. They were exposed, when at sea, to physical dangers; when at home, to moral. The object of the society was to prepare them for those disasters to which they were subject, that if snatched away from this mortal life, they might enter into that happy state where there would be "no more sea" [hear, hear].

The Rev. WILLIAM LEGGE (of Reading), in seconding the resolution, referred to the beneficial effect which would result from only one righteous seaman being secured on board every vessel which left our ports, adducing as an instance the case of Paul, when shipwrecked in the Adriatic. If they had ever seen a ship in distress, they would make sacrifices to forward the spiritual good of seamen.

The Rev. JOHN BURNER moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and announced a donation of "two ten-pounders" from Mr. Rogers. The motion having been seconded,

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks, and the proceedings closed with the Doxology and Benediction.

LIFE AND DEATH IN LONDON.—Few know that in every seven minutes of the day a child is born in London, and that in every nine minutes one of its inhabitants dies! The population of London is roundly, 2,382,000. If the averages of the last fifty years continue, in thirty-one years from this time as many persons as now compose its population will have died in it, and yet, in about thirty-nine years from this time, if the present rate of progress continue, the metropolis will contain twice as many persons as it does now. The whole population of Liverpool, in 1851, numbered 255,000; while the increase of inhabitants in the metropolis, between 1841 and 1851, was 413,000. It is truly marvellous! Where will it stop, and how food and shelter are provided for these masses, are subjects for speculation.—Builder.

ELECTIONEERING INTELLIGENCE.

EAST SUFFOLK.—Sir Fitzroy Kelly was, on Saturday, elected in the place of the late Lord Rendlesham. Mr. Houghton was announced by the Free-traders, and gained the show of hands, but declined going to the poll.

TAVISTOCK.—The poll took place on Wednesday, and resulted in the election of Mr. Carter (barrister), the Radical rival to Mr. Trelawny. The numbers were:—Carter, 115; Trelawny, 89; Phillimore, 80.

WORCESTER.—Mr. Laslett has been returned without opposition. In returning thanks he held up the fact of his unopposed election for the capital of an agricultural district, as a warning to ministers and an example to constituencies.

BERWICK-ON-TWEED.—Much dissatisfaction prevails amongst the Liberal party in this town, at the announcement of a Mr. John Stapleton, a member of a Roman Catholic family in Yorkshire, as a candidate, without invitation from the party or the town to which he has appealed. The consequence is that two Tories have started. Mr. Forster has visited the town, again received the unanimous support of the Liberal party, and made a canvass that leaves no doubt of his return. Mr. Renton, the present Conservative member, will again stand.

MANCHESTER.—The Conservatives are anxious to get candidates, and are hawking about requisitions for two Conservatives—Church Free-traders. The requisitions bear no names, but the names whispered in the ears of credulous signers are—Lord Morton (eldest son of Earl Ducie), and Mr. George Loch (son of Mr. J. Loch, M.P., and managing trustee of the Bridgewater estates), of Worsley Old Hall. It seems unlikely, however, that Earl Ducie, a good supporter of the League, will back his son against Mr. Bright.

NOTTINGHAM.—Mr. Walter has ventured upon a public meeting, and got soundly beaten. The *Times* reports something of the badgering, but suppresses the result of the show of hands.

PAISLEY.—Mr. Haly, the Radical and Anti-state-church candidate, has concluded his canvass, and his friends are sanguine of success.

PERTH.—Lord Panmure has bidden farewell to the electors of Perth in a short address, in which he says:—"My career as a Member of the House of Commons has closed where it commenced—in Perthshire; and I shall ever look back with pride and satisfaction to the high honour which I have enjoyed, of sitting as the representative both of the county and city of Perth, nor shall I ever forget, though my domicile may be changed, that I still have the high distinction of being enrolled among the citizens and burghesses of Perth."

SHEFFIELD.—Mr. George Hadfield has received a deputation and consented again to become a candidate.

THE TOWER HAMLETS.—A meeting, convened by Messrs. Thompson and Ayrton's committee, was held on Monday evening, at the Manor Rooms, Hackney. Mr. F. Clark was called to the chair. On or near the platform were Dr. Massie, Dr. Oxley, Mr. S. Morley, Mr. C. Reed, Mr. C. Green, and other influential inhabitants; and in a side gallery we observed Dr. Cox and Mr. Geo. Offer. Mr. Ayrton was the first speaker, and occupied the meeting for nearly an hour, with a bold and effectively-delivered enunciation of Radical and Anti-state-church principles; replying with severity to the remarks of Sir W. Clay in that room a few weeks since, on his appearance as a rival candidate. Mr. Geo. Thompson next rose, and was received with enthusiastic cheering from his supporters; a few dissentient expressions only serving to stimulate and prolong the acclamations of the great majority. A knot of "Butlerites" rendered the honourable gentleman for a short time inaudible, and renewed their clamour at intervals through the evening. Mr. Thompson stated that he presented himself again for election solely on the ground that his principles were those of the majority of the electors, and that his life had proved his integrity. At the meeting held in that room on the 16th ult., certain gentlemen had ostentatiously transferred their support from him to Sir W. Clay, on the ground of his dereliction of duty. He was thus forced into a comparison he had no wish to make. He held in his hand a list and analysis of their votes during the whole of the present Parliament down to the division on the Crystal Palace (except during his absence in America—of which he gave his opponents the benefit), and he challenged any one to impugn the accuracy of that list. During that period he had given 264 votes—Sir William, 235; leaving a balance of 29 in his favour (cheers). He claimed no merit for himself on this score—he attached no demerit to his colleague: he would judge no man simply by the number of his votes. But, if he was to be cast off for negligence, the same punishment should be inflicted on his colleague, who was preferred before him. A respectable religious paper (the *Patriot*), in a leader in support of Sir William Clay, had said, that, in the session of 1850, he (Mr. Thompson) was absent from 270 out of 329 divisions, though in England, and not incapacitated by ill health; adding, "We doubt whether the annals of Parliament contain a more reprehensible example of similar delinquency." Yes; the hon. baronet in whose support this article was written surpassed him (Mr. Thompson) in "delinquency," for although there was a balance in his favour of eight votes in that session, there was a balance of twenty-

nine against him in the whole Parliament. And against this special delinquency, he had to plead, that at a meeting of fully 4,000 electors and non-electors, held in Zion Chapel, in January of that year (1850), he received formal permission to occupy himself in traversing the country to arouse public feeling in support of Mr. Hume's motion, and of the Reform Conference held in the following April. He was not always absent when he did not vote; on some motions he could not go into either lobby. It was so on Mr. Horsman's motion, relative to Mr. Bennett, which acknowledged the supremacy of the Queen. He would plead, also, the quality of his votes. He went through a classified list of the divisions in which he or Sir William Clay had voted, particularly dwelling on the ecclesiastical and Irish questions. He had voted in fourteen divisions on the navigation laws, from every one of which Sir William was absent—in twenty-one divisions on the Jewish question, from eight of which his colleague was absent. He had given twenty-two votes against Irish coercion bills, when Sir William either voted against him or was absent. He had voted for an inquiry into Irish temporalities, for Mr. Cobden's budget, for international arbitration, for the abolition of capital punishments, against the Alien Bill and the game laws, for the abolition of taxes on knowledge, against grants for Royal stables and pensions, and for the People's Charter—in each instance alone. He repeated, that he made this comparison only because Sir W. Clay was preferred to his exclusion, avowedly on the ground of his (Sir William's) better discharge of his duties. He did not deny his own failings—he promised to amend them—and he exhorted Non-conformists and Radicals, in sentences that were enthusiastically applauded, only to do their duty to their principles, regardless of personal considerations.

—On Mr. Thompson's resuming his seat there were loud cries for Mr. Morley, but that gentleman did not present himself. Mr. C. Reed came forward, and silence having been obtained, commenced by saying, that this was the most painful meeting he had ever attended [cries of "Hear, hear"]. He was deeply pained at feeling bound to withdraw his support from Mr. Thompson, for whom he had worked as hard as any man in 1847. Far be it from him to impute to that gentleman unfaithfulness to principle,—he simply charged him, and he did so with deep regret, with neglect of duty. He said nothing but in words of praise of his going to America; but he took his stand on the division list for 1850, with its 270 absences. Mr. Thompson's last words were on Stephen Green, "Do not expect me to be a speech-maker, but scrutinise my votes!"—Mr. Thompson here rose, and begged Mr. Reed to put his finger on a single vote of which he disapproved.—Mr. Reed rejoined, there was not one—it was only the votes he had not given. He was loudly called upon by the meeting to account for Sir W. Clay's votes, but persisting in avoiding that point, neither the Chairman nor the hon. Member could secure for Mr. Reed a further hearing.—There were renewed cries for Mr. Morley and Dr. Massie. The latter gentleman came forward, and expressed his high admiration for Mr. Thompson, with whom he had fought the battle of free-trade. He was the first person to tell the electors of the Tower Hamlets, at a public meeting at which he appeared, that George Thompson was the man for them. He still said, that in earnestness, fidelity to principle, orthodox political sentiment, and eloquence, Mr. Thompson was surpassed by no living man. But he had told him privately, since he (Dr. Massie) had become an elector, that he could no longer regard him as the right man for the House. At the meeting so much referred to, he and the other gentlemen who thought with him, simply wished to elicit Sir W. Clay's opinions; and for his own part he should like a meeting in which both members should express their sentiments and defend their conduct (cheers). He believed Mr. Thompson would be all the wiser and better for this, and he could almost wish to see him again triumphant [great laughter and cheers]. The rev. doctor further asked Mr. Ayrton what he had done in India, where there was such a fine field for reform, to entitle him to the confidence of an English constituency. Mr. Ayrton replied, that it was impossible to work on the Government of India in India; public meetings were allowed, but they were worthless as to influence. Nevertheless, he had done what he could; and he received on leaving Bombay a pecuniary testimonial of respect and gratitude, the exact amount of which he had contributed to the expenses of this election, believing he could not better promote the interests of the subscribers. In reply to a voice, he denied that he paid the whole of the costs; he gave only his fair share, and was assisted by the contributions of every gentleman on the platform. After another speech from Mr. Thompson, in which he described the extent and value of the services he had rendered out of doors, and was enabled to render in part by the *prestige* of an M.P., and pledged himself to continued and more devoted labour for the people's cause in and out of Parliament, a resolution approving of both candidates was put to the meeting, and carried almost unanimously—only about six hands being lifted against it, and those in that part of the room whence the disturbance of the evening had come. The meeting terminated not much before midnight, having lasted nearly five hours.

WEST RIDING REPRESENTATION.—The *Doncaster Gazette* has heard from a believable source that Government intends giving an additional two members for the West Riding, in the place of St. Albans.—A memorial, signed by 150 clergymen of the West Riding, has been presented to Mr. Cobden and Mr. Denison respectively on the subject of the

Maynooth Grant. The memorial is simply as follows:—

Feeling deeply anxious, on religious grounds, that the grant to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth should as soon as possible be wholly withdrawn, it would be a satisfaction to our minds to be informed by you whether (should you represent the West Riding in the ensuing Parliament) we may depend upon your using every influence to insure the withdrawal of so obnoxious a grant.

Mr. Denison's answer is, in brief:—"If the Government should propose the repeal, I shall with pleasure support them. If any influential section of the House should propose the repeal, I should also support them; but I cannot promise, at all hazards, to support the repeal of the grant without duly considering by whom such a proposal is made." Mr. Cobden has promised to give his reply in the House.

YORK.—Mr. Vincent seems "master of the situation." Yesterday week, Mr. Milner announced his intention to retire, in the divided state of the Liberal interest, and the unpromising aspect of his canvass. On Wednesday morning a special meeting of Mr. Leeman's committee was held, when that gentleman also announced his determination to retire from the contest. The committee, however, refused to receive the resignation, and adjourned till the evening. Mr. Leeman then expressed his earnest desire that his friends would permit him at once to withdraw himself, and the committee reluctantly assented. The course which Mr. Pashley will adopt is still unknown.

A PARTY OF MISSIONARIES STARVED TO DEATH.

We have this week to narrate one of the most appalling stories that have ever appeared in a public journal. An English officer, a gentleman of fortune, Captain Gardiner, of the Royal Navy, and his six companions, sent out by the "Patagonian Missionary Society" to the neighbourhood of Cape Horn, have been literally starved to death. The party consisted of Captain Allen Gardiner, R.N., superintendent; Mr. Williams, surgeon and catechist; Mr. Maidment, catechist; John Erwin, carpenter; John Badcock, John Bryant, and John Pearce, Cornish fishermen. They left England in September, 1850, in the barque *Ocean Queen*; it having been promised that stores should be forwarded to them in June via the Falkland Islands; should they be unable to maintain their position at Picton Island, Beagle Channel, it was supposed that being provided with partially-decked launches, they would fall back on Staten Island.

The ill-fated party landed on Picton Island towards the conclusion of the year 1850. From the first they seem to have been annoyed, in some measure, by the natives, and to have been hunted backwards and forwards from the little island to what may be called the mainland of Tierra-del-Fuego. About the middle of April, 1851, Captain Gardiner begins to record in his diary, which has been preserved to us, that "they have provisions enough to last for two months, but some are very low." They have but a flask and a half of powder; their fishing-net is washed away. They shoot an occasional fox, which serves them for food, instead of doing his best to steal the remainder of their little stock of provisions. The scurvy breaks out among the party. They are driven to take refuge in a cavern; but the tide rolls in, and Captain Gardiner and Mr. Maidment are obliged to swim out for their lives, and take refuge upon a clump of rock, round the base of which the waves of the South Atlantic are breaking. Upon this rock the two poor creatures kneel down in prayer. John Badcock, a Cornish fisherman, dies. By July the 4th the party have been seven weeks on short allowance; their only hope is in the expected ship from the Falkland Islands; but no ship comes. They greedily eat a penguin, a shag, a half-devoured fish washed upon the shore. Six mice are spoken of in the journal as dainties. The garden seeds have been used for broth, and are all spent. Mussels and limpets are the next resource—and then rock-weed is boiled down to a jelly. Erwin, a carpenter, and Bryant, another Cornish fisherman, die. Two of the party, Mr. Williams, the surgeon, and Pearce, a third Cornishman, had gone away from the main body of the party, for some object or other, probably for the discovery of food. Their dead bodies were discovered at Cook's River, some distance off. The presumption is they must have died about the same time as Captain Gardiner himself, who probably expired on the 6th of September. The last entry in his diary is on the 6th of September, and in this he mentions that he had not tasted food or water for four days. Mr. Maidment, the catechist, had died a few days before. It was the 6th of January, 1852, before Capt. Morshead, to whom orders were sent by the Admiralty in October, arrived in the island.

After many hours of fruitless search on the coast of Picton Island on the 20th of January, some writing was seen by Capt. Morshead's party on a rock across a river. The words were, "Go to Spaniard Harbour." On another rock adjoining was, "You will find us in Spaniard Harbour." On a third piece of rock, "Dig below," which they instantly did, but found only a broken bottle, without any paper or directions. On searching one of the numerous wigwags in the neighbourhood they read on one of their poles, "A bottle under this pole," but they could not find it; though it was evident, from some fragments of stores, that the mission had rested here. On the following morning Capt. Morshead sailed for Spanish Harbour, where they saw a boat lying on the beach, and where they found the bodies of Capt. Gardiner—his watch hanging to the

skeleton—and Mr. Maidment. On one of the papers found was written legibly, but without a date, "If you will walk along the beach for a mile and a half, you will find us in the other boat, hauled up in the mouth of a river at the head of the harbour, on the south side. Delay not, we are starving." Close to the spot where Capt. Gardiner was lying was a cavern, to which attention was directed by a hand painted on the rocks with "Psalm lxii. v. 58," under it. Here were found the papers referred to, and two unfinished were written to his son and daughter by Capt. Gardiner. The remains were buried close to this spot by the ship's company.

The poor Captain's diary, in which he records day by day the slow process of his agony, brings the scene very vividly before us. The first of the entries we can transcribe begins with a reference to the death of Mr. Maidment:—

Thursday, Sept. 4.—There is now no room to doubt that my dear fellow-labourer has ceased from his earthly toils, and joined the company of the redeemed in the presence of the Lord, whom he served so faithfully under these circumstances. It was a merciful providence that he left the boat, as I could not have removed the body. He left a little peppermint-water which he had mixed, and it has been a great comfort to me, but there was no other to drink; fearing that I might suffer from thirst, I prayed that the Lord would strengthen me to procure some. He graciously answered my petition, and yesterday I was enabled to get out, and scoop up a sufficient supply from some that trickled down at the stern of the boat by means of one of my indiarubber overshoes. What combined mercies am I receiving at the hands of my Heavenly Father; blessed be his holy name!—Friday, Sept. 5.—Great and marvellous are the loving-kindnesses of my gracious God unto me. He has preserved me hitherto, and for four days, although without bodily food, without any feelings of hunger or thirst.

These last remarks are not written so plainly as the previous day's. Another paper, dated September 6th, is addressed to Mr. Williams, and written in pencil, the whole being very indistinct, and some parts quite obliterated, but nearly as follows:—

My dear Williams,—The Lord has seen fit to call home another of our little company. Our dear departed brother left the boat on Tuesday afternoon, and has not since returned. Doubtless he is in the presence of his Redeemer, whom he served faithfully. Yet a little while, and though . . . the Almighty to sing the praises . . . throne. I neither hunger nor thirst, though . . . days without food . . . Maidment's kindness to me . . . heaven. Your affectionate brother in . . . Allen F. Gardiner. September 6, 1851.

The *Spectator* has the following admirable remarks on this distressing story of heroic suffering, evidently prompted by the opposite comments of the *Times*:—

It needs no concurrence in the special enterprise of the Patagonian missionaries to witness with something more than admiration the heroism of Commander Gardiner and his companions—their devotion, their patience, their faithful kindness to each other. Even the cry that is raised against such missions, because in this case they have proved wasteful of human life, is but partially true. The very astonishment betrayed by so many "gentlemen of England, who stay at home at ease," shows how much we require a memento that the power of heroic endurance on behalf of conviction has not died out of the blood of our race. But besides accidental examples like that of the "Birkenhead" at the southern extremity of Africa, we may cite Franklin and his companions, lost in Arctic America, wandering in search of facts to round off scientific truth; and now Gardiner and his companions perish at the other end of the vast double continent, carrying the gospel of their faith. The spectacle of the religious zeal which sustained them, which lifted them above their sufferings, made them rejoice in the very midst of death, is not altogether unknown to us even here; but displayed on such a scene, it acquires a grandeur, an emphasis, a reality, that must have, to our worldly-wise, the moral effect of a novelty and a surprise not unimpressive. Surely, the spirit which incites such men to raise glorious monuments in the most distant quarters of the globe, is not "waste!"

Nor is every mission to be judged by its first failure. Many a ditch before a beleaguered fort has been filled with the bodies of those who were first amongst the victors: were such soldiers defeated?

No doubt, the conduct of the missionaries is a gross violation of the economical-moral aphorism, "Each for himself, and God for us all;" the devoted band held that a trust in Divine Power was not incompatible with the service under that power; they held that each should work for the rest, not excepting even the Patagonian; and we have an idea that such views belong to a faith not altogether unknown in this country, though chiefly by name—Christianity. It may be surprising, indeed, that, whatever convictions they had, they should have acted upon them—that they should have persevered, in spite of "difficulties"—nay, against their own "interests!" Such heroic devotion must seem obsolete in the view of the new philosophy; but one great fact proves that it still possesses a stronger hold over the hearts even of the "gentlemen of England" than that self-sufficient philosophy, and that fact is the instant irresistible burst of sympathy. They buried themselves on the desert shore, but the whole people of England attends their funerals.

NOVEL SCHEME FOR THE EDUCATION OF FAMILIES.—"The Popular Educator," John Cassell's last publication, is intended to meet a want deeply felt, namely, a system of universal education—of education based upon sound principles, and obtainable by an expeditious method. The plan has met with decided approval, and the publication has already reached a circulation of eighty-five thousand. It has been found acceptable not only to the humbler classes, but to all ranks and conditions of persons who are desirous of attaining a sound education in French, Latin, German, Italian, Greek, and English grammar; in music, mathematics, in all its branches, geography, geology, physiology, botany, chemistry,

history, ancient and modern, biography, natural history, &c. To meet the urgent wishes of numerous families and individuals, John Cassell has determined to publish an extra edition upon superior paper, at 1½d. per number, or in monthly parts, containing four numbers in a neat wrapper, 7d., or when five numbers, 8½d. This extra edition will be published without the weekly headings. Persons wishing to have this superior paper edition, must give their orders expressly for the "Extra Edition of 'The Popular Educator';" they will otherwise receive the common edition, which is now being published in weekly numbers, price one penny each; or, in monthly parts, price fivepence; or, when five numbers, sixpence. Orders may be sent to any bookseller.—"The Illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine of Art."—The first half-yearly volume of this truly National illustrated work will be published July 1st, in a style of binding in strict accordance with the character of the work, price 6s. 6d. It may with safety be asserted that this volume will contain a larger number of first-class engravings, executed in the most finished manner, than has ever previously appeared in works of three times the cost. On June the 1st will be published, "The History of France," complete in one volume, neatly bound in cloth, price 2s. 6d. La Belle Sauvage Yard, Ludgate-hill.

THE STILT WALKERS OF THE LANDES.—The novelty of a population upon stilts, men, women, and children, spurning the ground, and living habitually four or five feet higher than the rest of mankind, irresistibly takes the imagination, and I leant anxiously from the carriage to catch the first glimpse of the Landean in his native style. I looked long in vain. We passed hut after hut, but they seemed deserted, except that the lean swine burrowing round the turf walls gave evidence that the pork had proprietors somewhere. At last I was gratified: as the train passed not very quickly along a jungle of bushes and coppice-wood, a black, shaggy figure rose above it, as if he were standing upon the ends of the twigs. The effect was quite eldritch. We saw him but as a vision; but the high conical hat with broad brims, like Mother Redcap's—the swarthy, bearded face—and the rough, dirty sheepskin, which hung fleecily over the shoulders of the apparition—haunted me. He was come and gone, and that was all. Presently, however, the natives began to heave in sight in sufficient profusion. There were three gigantic-looking figures stalking together across an expanse of dusky heath. I thought them men, and rather tall ones; but my companions, more accustomed to the sight, said they were boys on comparatively short stilts, herding the sheep, which were scattered, like little greyish stone, all over the waste. Anon, near a cottage, we saw a woman, in dark, coarse clothes, with shortish petticoats, sauntering almost four feet from the ground, and next beheld at a distance, and on the summit of a sand ridge, relieved against the sky, three figures, each leaning back, and supported, as it seemed, not only by two daddy-longlegs' limbs, but by a third, which appeared to grow out of the small of their backs. The phenomenon was promptly explained by my blouzed cicerone, who seemed to feel especial pleasure at my interest in the matter. The third leg was a pole or staff the people carry, with a new moon-shaped crutch at the top, which, applied to the back, serves as a capital prop. With his legs spread out, and his backstap firmly pitched, the shepherd of the Landes feels as much at home as you would in the easiest of easy chairs. "He will remain so for hours, without stirring, and without being wearied," said my fellow-passenger. "It is a way of sitting down in the Landes. Why, a shepherd could stand so long enough to knit a pair of stockings—ay, and not have an ache in his back. Sometimes they play cards so, without once coming off their stilts."—*Claret and Olives.*

LEDDBURY FREEHOLD LAND SOCIETY.—The best argument for the Freehold Land movement is a plain unvarnished statement of facts such as the following we have just received from a correspondent at Ledbury. He writes—"The society is steadily increasing, both in wealth and numbers. It was established on the 1st May, 1850, under the auspices of a few energetic men, who had the interests of their fellow-men at heart; and notwithstanding the ridicule and doubts with which it was hailed at its commencement, as being of too utopian a scheme to succeed, success has crowned the efforts of the promoters, who have now the pleasure and satisfaction of seeing their small institution rising into importance. Considerable difficulty, however, was experienced by the trustees in procuring land available for their purposes, but this was soon overcome, for one of the trustees—to his credit be it said—offered to sell to the society some excellent land, suitable for building and garden purposes, and situate in Bye-street, Ledbury, for the sum of £800, which offer the committee accepted. Immediately after the arrangement and completion of the purchase, the committee resolutely set to work to make the most of their bargain. Several cottages which were standing upon the property, with small gardens at the back, were sold by auction, the proceeds of which considerably reduced the amount of purchase-money. The remaining portion of the property, containing about 3a. 1r. 38p. of as good land as any in the county of Hereford, was divided into 22 allotments, each averaging upwards of 756 square yards, and afterwards allotted to such of the members as were entitled to them by priority. The cost of each allotment (which is free

from land-tax), together with the expense of conveyance, was £25 15s. 6d. All the allottees of the society, with the exception of three, paid the amount of purchase-money for their allotments, several of which were afterwards sold at a premium of £15. The land is admirably adapted for gardens. The average rent of each allotment is at least 50s. per annum. Upwards of £1,200 have been expended by the allottees in erecting decent and commodious cottages upon the property, which are let at rentals ranging from £5 to £10 per annum each. So much, therefore, for the first year's operations of this small society. In the course of a few days it will have attained the second year of its existence. At present it numbers 113 members, possessing 175 shares, with a fund of upwards of £720, invested in the bank of Messrs. Webb and Moore, and which is producing 3 per cent. interest. This amount is exclusive of the sums due on mortgage from the three allottees above mentioned. The committee have, within the last few days, accepted an offer made by Mr. Edward John Webb, banker, for the sale to the society of about 18a. Or. 32p. of excellent meadow land and orcharding, contiguous to the town, and admirably adapted for building and other purposes, the purchase-money for which is £3,300. The purchase will be arranged and completed in November next, after which the land will be divided in the best possible manner and allotted."

LITERATURE.

Regal Rome: an Introduction to Roman History. By FRANCIS W. NEWMAN, Professor of Latin in University College, London. London: Taylor, Walton, and Maberly, Upper Gower-street.

THE clever, versatile, and learned Francis Newman comes before us again, this time writing on a subject in which he is professionally concerned. Political economy and the philosophy of religion have received elucidation from his pen, of late; and he now writes, with undiminished freshness and vigour, on topics which can scarcely excite the strong personal interest and heated enthusiasm as the above questions of the day.

His new work is an attempt to construct a faithful picture of Ancient Rome under its kings, and disentangle that period of Roman History from the false glory which Livy has wilfully thrown around it. Niebuhr has preceded Mr. Newman in the same task, and with so much success, that in this country it will be deemed a kind of treason to revolt against his authority. The author does not, however, "conceal that his strong difference from the conclusions of Niebuhr has been a great impulse to the publication of this small volume." Without attempting to follow him into all the matters wherein he has departed from the footsteps of the great German, or pretending to decide, for the benefit of our readers, whose conclusions are right; we can confidently commend Mr. Newman's book to those who are interested in such inquiries, and have little doubt that the verdict passed upon his labours will entitle him to higher credit than that which he claims for himself—"to have come with a fresh mind to old discussions."

The materials for accomplishing such a task as Mr. Newman's are very slight. He has availed himself of all such as monumental inscriptions, and the regard for precedent manifested in the institutions of the Romans, supply to the historian. He has also shown not a little skill in the work of criticism proper—disentangling scraps of truth from a narrative of mixed material. Livy, for instance, is his chief authority for asserting the conquest of the Romans by the Sabines. Not a little light is thrown upon many subjects by the comparison of words found in the Welsh, Gaelic, and other living representatives of the Celtic tongue, with the Latin names; an instance of this occurs in our second extract. We may here mention that the volume contains several chapters on comparative philology, displaying much research and learning. Many readers will doubtless feel much interested in them, though we ourselves confess to an internal shuddering whenever our duty as conscientious critics plunged us into a chaos of Welsh, Gaelic, and hypothetical Umbrian or Sabine.

The most important of Mr. Newman's conclusions, inasmuch as they affect his opinions on all questions relating to Roman language and institutions at the period of which he writes, are two;—first, that there was a much stronger Greek element in the Latin nation than is generally supposed; and secondly, that the Romans were conquered by the Sabines, from whom their religion, many of their most admirable national characteristics, and most of their political institutions, were derived. Our first extract has reference to some of these topics.

ALBAN ROME.

"Alban Rome was clearly a robber-city; yet we do not know it to have been stained with blood-thirsty treachery like the Mamertines of Messene. She is rather to be compared with the petty cities of early

Greece, when they practised piracy without scruple, and gloried in it.

"This stage of human society rises out of an immature morality, difficult at first to understand. We are apt to imagine, that men ready to shed blood for the gratification of their cupidity, can have no virtues at all: but this is an illusion similar to that of supposing that a man who finds his sport in slaying innocent animals is altogether savage. A line, not wholly arbitrary, is drawn between our own and foreign nations, as between men and brutes, which admits of cultivating many virtues in high perfection towards countrymen, while we disown all moral rights of the stranger. Unhappily, this immature morality propagates itself to a very late stage. Nations called Christian, and glorying in the gentleness of civilization, are often execrably cruel and unjust even towards one another, and much more towards those whom they call barbarians. In early Greece and Rome, as in early Germany, the same principles were practised and avowed without disguise. No one criticised them; all in turn were ready to act upon them; and every successful warrior was honoured by his own people, however great had been his injustice to the foreigner.

"It has appeared that many of the notices of public religion in this era have something of a Greek colour. Hercules and the Lupercalia, Hereditary Priesthood, the Asylum, Equestrian Poseidon, Zeus Stadaios, and Tropaiochous, to say nothing of such names as the Agonian Hill and the Argean chapels—more nearly remind us of Greece. And this has a greater appearance of reality, because it is not worked up by a Dionysius, who might have had an argument to serve by it, but comes out piecemeal, and, as it were, of itself. Not that any real identity of religion with Greece is to be inferred from these things: indeed, within Greece itself, it is hard to say that Dorian and Ionian religion were identical; but the similarity is somewhat more than accident, and implies that religious notions fundamentally Greek exercised great force in Rome, before the Sabines introduced the great revolution to which we shall presently proceed.

As the people of Romulus looked solely to warlike achievements for wealth and well-being, a large population was a primary need; hence not only were those received who came voluntarily, but the inhabitants of neighbouring towns who proved unable to resist, were often transferred in mass to Rome, according to the policy of the Syracusan or Assyrian tyrants, where they were received as citizens on equal terms. This, in the opinion of Plutarch, above all things forwarded the aggrandizement of the city. We are not, however, to suppose that within Rome itself there was democratic equality. That the relations of Patron and Client can yet have subsisted in any such formality as Cicero believed, is scarcely credible: but we may be sure that martial ability was the first source of honour, and that trusty companions gathered round brave leaders, who became the chief men of the State. Foreigners would be admitted on the same footing; their chieftains becoming chief men in Rome, their followers a mere populace.

"In the opinion of Tacitus, Romulus was a despotic king; but Tacitus is a bad authority concerning the beginnings of nations. We must perhaps rest in the general probability that the successive heads or kings of Alban Rome, (however many are concealed under the name of Romulus,)—as captains of a people to whom warlike interests were all in all,—exercised a severely despotic discipline with high approbation, as long as they were successful in war, and just in the partition of spoil: and that, though no written law defined the rights of the king, and no precedents can have grown up to give strength to a senate, yet brave and turbulent men, with arms in their hands, knew how to prevent their leader's authority from degenerating into tyranny. The sway of an Arab chieftain is a familiar modern example of this sort of sovereignty.

"Such is the best idea to be gathered concerning Alban Rome, which rose as a city formidable to all the neighbours by the free development of a military system, under chieftains perhaps not less scrupulous than in other rude and warlike nations. But the first definite fact in their relations with foreigners which may be rested on as certain, is, the fall which they encountered from the grave and severe Sabines of Cures, an equally brave and more systematically disciplined race."

These passages have been selected chiefly because they are unaccompanied by the learned notes, without which others better suited to our purpose could not be fairly understood. These, however, will give our readers a favourable impression of the thorough learning, fresh thought, and various literary graces, that characterise this in common with all the author's works. We close with a short description of

THE SABINES.

"The Sabines were, indeed, a remarkably religious nation. Their morality was sharply defined, eminently positive, and overruling to the whole outward conduct. They knew how to die for duty, and saw duty as the enforcement of God. Like the North American savage, they had great power of self-devotion, high dignity and self-respect, and a generally pervading sternness. Yet their religion cannot be called a cruel one: such atrocities as the burying Vestal Virgins were mere exceptions. It was on its purely religious side unusually simple and pleasing: but its morality had a strong dash of unreasoning superstition. That it treated foreigners as a natural prey, is no more than may be said of all ancient religion. Like every system which makes more of Obedience than of Truth, it was capable of degenerating into punctilious observances, while neglecting great moralities: and this was its odious aspect in later Rome;—where it held its ground, unchanged in form by the progress of knowledge." "Ancient authors represent the Sabines as settled at Cures before they invaded Rome. Opinions were divided, whether the name Quirites came from Cures, or from the Sabine word *curis*, *quiris*, a spear: but until it is shown that Cures cannot also have come from the same root, there is no proved disagreement in the two explanations. We happen here to have a clue which the Romans had not. The Gaelic language has numerous words in common with the Latin; and give us *Coir*, (sounded *Quir*), a spear; *Curaidh*, a warrior; the similarity of which to *Quir* and *Quirite*, sets at rest the question what *Quirite* meant."

LITERARY MISCELLANY.

THE "FUNNY" SCHOOL OF THE PRESENT DAY.—The prosperity of *Punch* is not without its drawbacks. Our witty contemporary has done more than enough to diffuse throughout society a taste for jokes, conceits, and oddities of expression. The desire to be thought "funny" has become the literary mania of the time,—as the wish to be deemed "miserable" was under the Byron ascendancy. Instead of "penning a stanza," the youth who is now doomed "his father's soul to cross" would very likely be found hammering at a joke, or carefully preparing some brilliant *impromptu*.—This action and reaction are natural, however inconvenient the results may prove. The young, just entering life, are smitten with the prevailing taste as by a disease,—and in the ardour of their intellectual craving, they in turn demand yet more exciting food. Thus the slang of the tavern creeps into literature,—caricature passes out of its proper sphere,—and the spirit of farce, when called on to pander to this vicious appetite, seizes on subjects the most lofty and serious. Writers and readers suffer equally. A rage for puns and pasquinades, however bad—for broad grins, by whatever means produced—appears to be the only quality with which the writers of this trash consider it necessary to compliment their readers. Remarks of this kind naturally arise out of the perusal of Mr. A. Beckett's "Comic History of Rome"—the latest and not the least offensive production of the school. Even if the work were well done—if the wit were subtle, keen, and luminous—if the satirical illustration had stung and truth—if the characterization abounded in such happy and suggestive touches as Sydney Smith could have thrown into it—the graver objection to such treatment of a serious theme would still have been fatal to it as literature. But the book has no one redeeming element. To truth, nature, story, character, it makes, like the class which we take it to represent, no formal claims; but it is not even funny—which, we suppose, it *does* claim to be. Wit it has none—humour it has none. Puns it has in clusters—moderate puns, indifferent puns, bad puns; there they are, twenty or more on a page, altogether constituting the dreariest liveliness that we have encountered in our reading for many a day.—*Athenaeum*.

THE FALL OF THE JESUITS IN FRANCE.—Father de Sacy, a Jesuit of eminence, and of frank and gentlemanly address, was introduced to Madame de Pompadour as her new confessor. She received him in the most amiable manner, being anxious to conciliate the Jesuits, who had hitherto been her enemies, and, at the same time, to retain a confessor who would absolve her from all sins committed at court.—"Once declared worthy of the protection of God by a Jesuit so distinguished as De Sacy, did she not become almost inviolable, and somewhat sacred? She put into play all her seductions against her confessor. She never brought to bear more grace, skill, and beauty. The king would have been justified in becoming jealous. Father de Sacy, who allowed himself to be captivated by the charming coquetry of a woman who was more haughty than a real queen, went seven or eight times to speak to her about confession, without desiring to confess her as yet. Was it not rather the prelude to a profane love, than a prelude to divine love? As the good city of Paris did not know how else to amuse itself at that time, it amused itself with this confession. Songs were composed about the confessor and his penitent. . . . The next morning there was great excitement among the Jesuits; they summoned before their Council of Ten the procureur-general of missions. He was obliged himself to confess. He was ordered, as a penance for his absolution, to refuse his counsels to the marchioness, "and to excuse himself the best way he could, for having so long a time it amused her." At the next interview, Father de Sacy boldly remonstrated with his fair penitent on the immorality of her life. She listened to his words with the calmness of a statue; and then burst forth,—"Father, you are a fool, a rogue, a real Jesuit: do you understand? You have played with the embarrassment in which you supposed I was involved. You wish, I know very well, you and the rest of you to see me removed from the king; but I am as powerful as you think me weak and failing; and in spite of all the Jesuits in the world, I will remain at court, while they themselves shall not only be driven from the court, but the kingdom also." From that day the fall of the Jesuits was decided.—*Men and Women of France during the last Century*.

LIFE IN THE ARCTIC SEAS.—Iceicles hung around the deck, peaches became a mass of calcedone, butter was cut with a chisel, beef with pickaxe and crowbar. Walking out, you are conscious of a bracing atmosphere. Whiskers and face are glazed with ice. Put out your tongue, and it is frozen to your chin. Walking on, you get into a fine glow, often into a perspiration, but if the wind rises, then you have a sensation of pricking pains. Extremes meet. Extremes of heat and cold are alike. In our new life, cold gives a positive character to our existence, almost impossible to describe. We protected ourselves from metals with fur and buckskin. The crawl the chill, which is with us at home the indication of varying temperature, was there unknown. In fact, it was only by the direct attack of cold that we were aware of it, and officers and men agreed that we had suffered more at home from cold. With such an inveterate enemy, however, we could not hope to escape scars, but we all returned alive. On one occasion, a poor fellow, recovering from inflammation of the lungs, being asked how his frost-bitten ear came on, produced it in a piece of paper, and said, "Doctor, I didn't want to trouble you, but it dropped off last night." We had a covered theatre,

and on Washington's birthday, a year ago, the thermometer being forty degrees below zero, we had a fine representation: but one unfortunate Irishwoman happening to touch some iron without mittens, verified the rhyme—

"What perils do environ
The man that meddles with cold iron."
—*Kane's Arctic Expedition*.

GLEANINGS.

Notes and Queries quotes the following ingenious Jacobite toast from Byrom's "Miscellaneous Poems," edit. 1773.

"God bless the King, I mean the Faith's Defender;
God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender;
Who that Pretender is, and who is King,
God bless us all—that's quite another thing."

The *Preston Chronicle* immortalizes a Cockerham goose, as old as the nineteenth century, "now sitting on her eggs."

The father of Maddle. Wagner, in writing to a friend on the subject of his daughter's engagement, coolly says,—"England is only to be valued for the sake of her money."

A work that promises to be "interesting" is now in the press, and will shortly make its appearance. The author is Georgey, the Hungarian traitor, and the work is entitled, "My Life and Acts in the Years 1848 and 1849."

An Irish servant who plumed herself upon being employed in a "genteel family," was asked the definition of the term. "Where they have two or three kinds of wine, and the gentleman swears," was the highly satisfactory reply.

By a return to the House of Commons, it appears that last year 611 vessels belonging to the United Kingdom were wrecked. Of the number, 600 were sailing vessels, of 110,670 tonnage, and 11 steam vessels, the tonnage of which was 1,306.

A HINT TO BACHELORS.—Sir Walter Scott and Daniel O'Connell, at a late period of their lives, ascribed their success in the world principally to their wives. Were the truth known their's is the history of thousands.

PUN UPON PUN.—On my admonishing a patient upon one occasion for his supposed habit of eating too fast, and telling him that "bolting" the food was a "bar" to digestion, he said, "You speak 'iron-ically, doctor!'"—*Sir James Eyre*.

LORD BROUGHAM has commenced collecting materials for the purpose of building a handsome *Gymnasium* in a suitable field at the village of Eamont Bridge, in Westmoreland, a great part of which will be of glass after the fashion of the Crystal Palace.

COLONEL RAWLINSON, it is said, has opened out the entire place of sepulture of the kings and queens of Assyria. There they lie, it is said, "in huge stone sarcophagi, with ponderous lids decorated with the royal ornaments and costume, just as they were deposited more than 3,000 years ago."

THE LARGEST MAN-OF-WAR IN THE WORLD.—The Lords of the Admiralty have directed the stupendous line-of-battle ship, the "Windsor Castle," the largest man-of-war in the world, building in the Royal Dockyard at Pembroke, to be launched early in the ensuing summer. She will mount the large number of 140 guns, and will be fitted with a screw-propeller. She is upwards of 3000 tons.

A THEOLOGICAL CLUB.—A new institution, to be called "The Theological Institute, Library, and Club," is in process of formation. It is intended that the new Institute shall partake, to some extent, of the advantages of a club. A considerable number of names have already been enrolled as shareholders or subscribers—including the two archbishops, fifteen bishops, and many of the high clergy and laymen connected with theological studies.

ANOTHER SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH.—The laying down of the submarine electric wire between England and Belgium will be commenced almost immediately. Some alterations in the original scheme have been made—and the lines will be laid from Dover to Nieuport, not to Ostend, as was first proposed. By this change more than ten miles of wire will be saved, and a better bedding will be secured for the rest to lie in.

CAUSES OF INSANITY.—In the year 1861 there were 48 deaths in the Lancashire lunatic asylum. The assigned causes of insanity in these cases were:—

Fright	1	Domestic unhappiness	3
Predisposition	1	Poverty & its consequences ..	7
Physical causes.....	2	Intemperance	16
Grief.....	2	Unknown	14
Pecuniary losses	2		

A BRAGGART AND HIS BRASS.—One of those devotees to Mammon once received a lesson from an humble follower, who did not seem to pay him, the possessor of the purse, sufficient homage. The latter said, "Do you know, Sir, that I am worth a hundred thousand pounds?" "Yes," said the irritated, but not broken-spirited respondent, "I do; and I know that it is ALL you are worth."—*The Stomach and its Difficulties* (by Sir James Eyre).

AN EXTRAORDINARY DRAMA.—Lola Montes has engaged a young literary gentleman of New England, son of Mrs. Ware, one of our somewhat celebrated poetesses, to write a sort of epic drama for her, embodying the principal events of her wayward life, and introducing into the play the eminent characters with whom she has been brought in contact. It will be in five acts—the first two embracing her European life, in which will appear, as leading characters, Louis I., ex-King of Bavaria; his son, Maximilian II.; Count Pepin, private secretary to Louis; Lieutenant Heald, and his maiden aunt; Eugene Sue; Dujarrier, editor of *Le Siècle*, and other Parisian literary characters. In the third act will be introduced Kossuth; Prince Bobo, tattooed in his native African style; Horace Greeley, attired in the identical white coat; little Rymond of the *Times*, and M. Arpinin, of the *Courrier des Etats Unis*. Of course, Lola will play the leading rôle herself.—*New York Herald*.

BIRTHS.

April 29, at Carlton-le-Moorland, Newark, Notts, the wife of Mr. CHARLES WILLIAMS, of a son.
April 29, at 2, Balishe-terrace, Islington, Mrs. HERBERT S. SHAW, of a son.
May 2, at Mont Durand, Guernsey, the lady of CHARLES JAMES MARSHALL, jun., Esq., of a son.

MARRIAGES.

April 12, at the Welsh Chapel, Colwyn, by the Rev. H. Jones, Town, Mr. EVAN JONES, printer, Dolgellau-office, Dolgellau, to Miss DAVIES, Liechwyd, Colwyn. The parties were addressed by the Rev. C. Jones, of Dolgellau.
April 25, at Argyle Chapel, Bath, by Rev. W. A. Gillson, EDWARD, eldest son of Mr. Alderman HANCOCK, of Willow-house, Bathwick-hill, to MARY WALKER, daughter of the late John Collins, Esq., of Tiverton.
April 25, at the Baptist chapel, Stanningley, near Ledsley, by the Rev. J. Elliyard, Mr. JOSEPH BRADLEY, woollen draper, Pudsey, to Miss SARAH NEWMAN, of Stanningley.
May 1, by license, at the Baptist chapel, Blakeney, Gloucestershire, by the Rev. W. Copley, Mr. JOHN MILLINGTON, of Mitchell Dean, to ELLEN BUCHANAN, eldest daughter of Mr. John Playsted of Newham.

DEATHS.

April 24, at the residence of his father-in-law, Mr. David Morgan, at Sketty, near Swansea, the Rev. DAVID RHYE STEPHEN, late of Manchester.
April 24, at her residence, Clapham, Mrs. PERCIVAL WHITE, sister of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, aged 68.
April 29, at Hook Norton, Oxon, aged 55, Rev. JOHN BLAKEMAN.
April 29, THOMAS ARNOLD, the infant son of the Rev. Isaac New, Birmingham.
April 30, at Down-house, Odham, Hants, in the 80th year of his age, CHARLES JAMES SMITH, youngest son of Stephen James Smith.
May 1, Mr. JOHN HILLS, surveyor, of Billerica.
May 2, after a few hours' illness, aged 10 months, JULIA KATHLEEN, daughter of Mr. S. J. CHURCH, bookseller, Leicester.

THE GAZETTE.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

An account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, the 24th day of April, 1862.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	33,099,150	Government Debt ..	11,015,100
		Other Securities ..	2,984,900
		Gold Coin & Bullion ..	19,065,775
		Silver Bullion	33,375
			233,099,150

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital ..	14,553,000	Government Securities ..	13,335,779
Reserve	3,098,110	Dead Weight Annuity ..	10,999,619
Public Deposits (including Exchequer Savings Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts) ..	2,982,373	Notes	11,500,305
Other Deposits	14,472,506	Gold and Silver Coin ..	488,520
Seven-day and other Bills	1,907,142		
			236,234,223

Dated the 24th day of April, 1862.
M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

Friday, April 30.

The following persons are entitled to share in the dividends of the Bank of England, pursuant to an act of the 7th and 8th Victoria, c. 32.

Independent Chapel, Langford, Oxfordshire.
Taherabad Chapel, Bathwick, Gloucestershire.

BANKRUPTCY ADVERTISED.

HARRIS, WILLIAM, Kingston-upon-Hull, draper.

BANKRUPT.

COLLINS, WILLIAM, Marlborough, Wiltshire, draper, May 10, June 10: solicitors, Messrs. Sole and Co., Aldermanbury, City.
OSBORN, WILLIAM THOMAS, High-street, Islington, baker, May 13, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Vallance, Essex-street, Strand, London.
GULLICK, JAMES, Yalding, Kent, brewer, May 14, June 18: solicitors, Messrs. Nichols and Doyle Gray's-inn, London; and Mr. Morgan, Maldstone.

McKENROW, ALEXANDER, Kingston-upon-Hull, draper, May 25, June 16: solicitors, Mr. Neill, Manchester; and Messrs. Shackle, Hull.

NEWBOLD, JOSEPH, Barton-under-Meedwood, Staffordshire, innkeeper, May 10, June 7: solicitors, Mr. Bam, Burton-upon-Trent; and Messrs. Wright, Birmingham.

WARREN, JOHN, High-street, Old Brentford, and George-street, Haverstock-square, dentist, May 8, June 11: solicitor, Mr. Tate, Basinghall-street, City.

WYMARK, WILLIAM, Mitley, Essex, wharfinger, May 14, June 11: solicitor, Mr. Hubbard, Bucklersbury, City.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MILLER, JAMES, jun., Ayr, iron founder, May 6 and 27.
WALKER, ROBERT, Ferrygate, Haddingshire, May 5 and June 1.

DIVIDENDS.

Isaac Abraham's, Liverpool, tailor, div. of 4s.; at Mr. Turner's, Liverpool, any Wednesday—Charles Bayliffe, Chippenham, Wiltshire, surgeon, first div. of 2s. 18d.; at Mr. Miller's, Bristol, any Wednesday—John Boniface, Eastergate, Sussex, miller, first div. of 1s. 6d.; at Mr. Cannon's, Aldermanbury, any Monday—Thomas Eyre, Sheffield, Yorkshire, grocer, first div. of 4s.; at Mr. Freeman's, Leeds, any Monday—Richard Fowke, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, chemist, first div. of 2s. 4d.; at Mr. Whitmore's, Birmingham, any Thursday before June 20—Thomas Harrison, Adle-street, City, tripping manufacturer, first div. of 2s. 5d.; at Mr. Cannon's, Aldermanbury, any Wednesday—Joseph Harrop, Gracemore, Yorks, clothier, first div. of 3d.; at Mr. Cannon's, Aldermanbury, any Monday—Robert and Frederick Robert Hazard, Bristol, victuallers, first div. of 8d.; at Mr. Miller's, Bristol, any Wednesday—James Napier, jun., Sheffield, Yorkshire, oil merchant, first div. of 5s. 6d. on new profits; at Mr. Freeman's, Leeds, any Monday—John Ramsey, High Wycombe, Bucks, money scrivener, second div. of 4d.; at Mr. Cannon's, Aldermanbury, any Monday—Joseph Storey, Hartlepool, Durham, draper, first div. of 6d.; at Mr. Walker's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, any Saturday—Robert Sutcliffe, Warrington, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer, first div. of 2s. 2d.; at Mr. Pott's, Manchester, any Tuesday—Daniel Hemus Waldron, Birmingham, grocer, first div. of 4s. 2d.; at Mr. Christie's, Birmingham, any Thursday—Christopher Akenhead Wawa, West Cumbria, Durham, lime burner, second div. of 4d.; at Mr. Wakley's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, any Saturday—William Wood, Bristol, provision merchant, first div. of 7s. 6d.; at Mr. Miller's, Bristol, any Wednesday—John Woodhouse, Ripon, Yorkshire, draper, first and final div. of 2s. 10d.; at Mr. Hope's, Leeds, May 4, and any subsequent Monday or Tuesday.

Tuesday, May 4.

BANKRUPT.

BEITHMAN, SAMUEL, jun., Hereford, grocer, May 18, June 15: solicitors, Messrs. Frichard, Hereford, and Bloxham, Birmingham.

KARP, JOHN, Uttoxeter, Staffordshire, brewer, May 15, June 5: solicitors, Messrs. Dugman and Hemmant, Mr. Walsall, and Messrs. Wright, Birmingham.

JAMES, FRANK, Walsall, Staffordshire, merchant, May 15, June 15: solicitors, Messrs. Dugman and Hemmant, Mr. Walsall, and Messrs. Wright, Birmingham.
RITCHIE, CHARLES, Oxford-street, draper, May 13, June 10: solicitor, Mr. Frank, Dean-street, City.
WATSON, WILLIAM ARTHUR, Whitton, Warwickshire, builder, May 16, June 18: solicitors, Messrs. Debb, Atherstone, and Hedgcock, Birmingham.
WOODHOUSE, JAMES THOMAS, Leamington, Herefordshire, scrivener, May 15, June 5: solicitors, Messrs. Mottram and Co., Birmingham.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CLARK, DAVID, Perth, writer, May 11, and June 1.
JACK, DAVID, Arbroath, baker, May 7 and 31.
WATSON, RICHARD HORWALL, Glasgow, merchant, May 10, and June 7.

DIVIDENDS.

James Duggan, Maryport, Cumberland, draper, first div. of 3s. 8d., May 3, and any subsequent Saturday; at Mr. Baker's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—Charles Read, Great Grimby, Lincolnshire, wine merchant, first div. of 2s. 6d., May 4, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Mr. Carrick's, Hull—Benjamin Smith, Threadneedle-street, City, Bow-common, and Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, copper smelter, third div. of 5d.; any Wednesday; at Mr. Whitmore's, Basinghall-street—Frederick True, Downham Market, Norfolk, ironfounder, third div. of 5d.; any Wednesday; at Mr. Whitmore's, Basinghall-street.

MARKETS.

MARK LANE, MONDAY, May 3rd.

There was a fair quantity of English Wheat offering this morning, and this, with an increased supply of French and American Flour, checked the trade, which, in some instances, was 1s. per quarter cheaper than on Monday last. In Foreign Wheat and Flour little doing, but prices nominally unaltered. Barley, Beans, and Peas much the same as last week. We were moderately supplied with Oats, and the demand was good, at fully last Monday's quotations. Linseed Cakes quite as dear. The demand for Cloverseed has become extremely limited, and prices almost nominal.

BRITISH.		FOREIGN.	
Wheat	Wheat—
Essex, Suffolk, and Kent, Red (new)	36 to 40	Antial and Marks	36 .. 38
Ditto White	40 .. 48	Ditto White	40 .. 42
Lincoln, Norfolk, and Yorksh. Red	36 .. 40	Pomeranian red	36 .. 40
Northumberland, and Scotch, White	40 .. 49	Rostock	40 .. 48
Ditto, Red	36 .. 38	Danish and Fries-
Devon, and Somerset, Red	land	36 .. 38
Ditto White	Peterburgh, Arch-
Barley	30 .. 31	angel and Riga	33 .. 38
Scotch	30 .. 35	Polish Odessa	34 .. 37
Malt, Ordinary	45 .. 48	Marianopol & Ber-
Pale	54 .. 56	dianski	40 .. 42
Peas, Grey	25 .. 27	Taganrog	36 .. 40
Maple	25 .. 30	Brabant and French	38 .. 40
White	30 .. 32	Ditto White	42 .. 44
Rollers	34 .. 35	Salonica	30 .. 32
Beans, Large	25 .. 27	Egyptian	25 .. 28
Ticks	27 .. 29	Rye	28 .. 30
Harrow	25 .. 26	Barley—
Pigeon	31 .. 32	Wismar & Rostock	25 .. 28
Oats—	Danish	25 .. 29
Line, & York, feed	18 .. 22	Swedish	25 .. 29
Do. Poland & Pot.	22 .. 25	East Friesland	20 .. 23
Berwick & Scotch	22 .. 24	Salonica	20 .. 21
Scotch feed	19 .. 22	Danube	20 .. 21
Irish feed and blit	18 .. 19	Peas, White	25 .. 28
Ditto Potatoes	19 .. 21	Rollers	30 .. 32
Linseed, raw	50 .. 54	Beans, Horse	25 .. 26
Canary Seed, Essex, new	25s. to 26s. per cwt.	Pigeon	29 .. 30
Rape Cakes, 24 lbs. to 25 per ton	Egyptian	25 .. 26
Linseed, 210 lbs. to 210 0s.	Oats—
per 1,000	Ordnance, Danish,
Flour, per sk. of 280 lbs.	Sweden, and Fries-
Ship	22 .. 30	land, feed and blit	18 .. 19
Town	37 .. 40	Do. thick and heavy	20 .. 23

WHEATLY AVERAGE FOR APRIL 24.

Wheat	40s. 4d.	Wheat	41s. 6d.
Barley	27 8	Barley	29 4
Oats	19 3	Oats	19 6
Rye	21 7	Rye	22 1
Beans	20 3	Beans	20 1
Peas	20 2	Peas	20 9

AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.

Wheat	41s. 6d.	Wheat	41s. 6d.
Barley	29 4	Barley	29 4
Oats	19 6	Oats	19 6
Rye	22 1	Rye	22 1
Beans	20 1	Beans	20 1
Peas	20 9	Peas	20 9

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, May 3.

The fine rains which fell in most parts of England last week, having induced many of the graziers to withhold a portion of their stock for the present, the supply of home-fed Beasts on sale this morning was comparatively limited, whilst its general quality was not to say first-rate. The attendance of buyers being large, and the weather favourable for slaughtering, the Beef-trade was firm at an advance in the quotations of 2d. per 8lbs., and a good clearance was effected. The prime Scotch sold at 3s. 6d. per 8lbs. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, we received 2,400 Scotch, homebred and short-horns, from other parts of England, 500 Herefords, Runts, Devons, &c., and, from Scotland, 640 horned and polled Scotch, 400 being per railway. There being a slight decrease in the arrivals of Sheep, especially from Norfolk and Surrey, the Mutton-trade ruled tolerably steady, and last week's carcasses were well supported. It must be observed that our prices refer solely to shewings. Prime old Down, out of the wool, realized 3s. 6d.—in extreme cases, 3s. 6d. per 8lbs. We were fairly supplied with Lambs, which changed hands slowly at barely the late decline. The top figure was 5s. 4d. per head. From the Isle of Wight we received 200 head, the quality of which was prime. Calves were in large demand, but no further decline took place in prices. The Pork-trade was dull, and the best small Porters were worth only 2s. 8d. per 8lbs.

Price per stone of 14lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d.	Veal	2s. 10d. to 4s. 0d.
Mutton	2 6 .. 3 8	Pork	2 6 .. 3 8

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

Beasts	Sheep	Calves	Pigs
Friday	633	4,800	310
Monday	3,974	25,480	223

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, May 3.—Since our last report, these markets have been seasonably well, but not so heavily supplied with both town and country killed meat. The prime Beef, Mutton, and Lamb are in fair request, at full quotations. Other wise, the trade is in a sluggish state.

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.

Inferior Beef	2s. 0d. to 2s. 2d.	Int. Mutton	2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d.
Middling do	2 2 .. 2 6	Mid. ditto	2 8 .. 3 0
Prime large	2 6 .. 2 8	Prime ditto	3 0 .. 3 6
Prime small	2 10 .. 2 2	Veal	2 8 .. 3 10
Large Pork	2 4 .. 2 10	Small Pork	3 0 .. 3 6

HIDES, LEADENHALL.—Market hides, 56lb. to 64lb., 14d. to 16d. per lb.; ditto, 64lb. to 72lb., 2d. to 24d.; ditto, 72lb. to 80lb., 24d. to 26d.; ditto, 80lb. to 88lb., 26d. to 28d.; ditto, 88lb. to 96lb., 28d. to 30d.; ditto, 96lb. to 104lb., 30d. to 32d.; ditto, 104lb. to 112lb., 32d. to 34d.; Calf-skins, each, 1s. 6d. to 2s. 0d. Horse hides, 2s. 0d. to 2s. 6d.

OILS.—Linseed, per cwt., 55s. 6d. to 57s. 0d.; Rapeseed, English refined, 31s. 6d. to 33s.; foreign, 32s. 0d.; Gallipoli, per ton, £44; Spanish, £41 to £42; sperm £35 to £37, bagged £34; South Sea, £33 to £34; do. ; Bank pale, £30 0s. to £31 0s.; do. coloured, £30 0s.; Cod, £24 to £25; Cocoa Nut, per ton, £38 to £40; Palm, £29. 6s.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Tuesday, May 4th.—Old Irish Butter was rather more dealt in last week, at prices varying from 46s. to 56s. per cwt. Some new Limerick was sold at 72s.—4s. to 6s. difference; and new 4th Cork at 60s. to 64s. per cwt. landed. There was a liberal supply of foreign, and prices for the best quality declined 6s. to 8s. per cwt. For Bacon the demand was slow, and limited prices from 48s. to 52s., as in size and quality. Hams in fair request, at from 54s. to 58s. Lard steady; price of bladdered 54s. to 58s., kegs, 60s. to 52s.

PRICES OF BUTTER, CHEESE, HAMS, &c.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Friesland	per cwt.	74 to 76	Double Gloucester,	per cwt.	46 to 56
Kiel	74	76	Single, do.	43	48
Dorset	81	84	York Hams	60	66
Ditto (middling)	74	76	Westmoreland, do.	60	66
Carlisle (new)	70	72	Irish, do.	52	58
Waterford, do.	66	68	American, do.	38	38
Cork, do.	66	68	Wiltshire Bacon	50	56
Limerick	60	60	(green)	52	56
Sligo	60	60	Waterford Bacon	50	52
Fresh Butter, per doz.	10	12	Hamburg, do.	44	50
Cheshire Cheese, per cwt.	50	70	American, do.	—	—
Cheddar, do.	56	68			

BREAD.—The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 6d. to 7d.; of household ditto, 5d. to 6d. per 4lbs. loaf.

POTATOES, SOUTHWAKE, Waterside, May 3.—Since our last report the arrivals, both coastwise and by rail, have been limited, and good Regents have made more money, but second-rate or inferior sorts sell badly. The following are this day's quotations:—

York Regents	90s. to 100s. per ton.
Scotch Regents	70s. to 80s.
Perth & Forfarshire Cupes	—s. to —s.
Fifehire ditto	50s. to 60s.
Kent and Essex	70s. to 80s.
Lincoln & Wisbeach	—s. to —s.
Cambridge & Wisbeach	55s. to 60s.
Shaws	—s. to —s.
French	—s. to —s.

COVENT GARDEN, SATURDAY, May 1.

Notwithstanding the continued coldness of the weather, the market is pretty well supplied with vegetables and fruit. English Pineapples realise good prices; as do, also, Hothouse Grapes. Dessert Peas are now confined to Buerre Rance. A few Court of Wick and Ribbles Pippin Apples may still be obtained. Oranges are plentiful and good. Nuts are nearly the same as last quoted. Strawberries are becoming plentiful. Young Carrots, Beans (both French and Mazagan), Peas, Lettuces, and Artichokes, are supplied from France. Potatoes are generally good in quality. Mushrooms are cheaper. Cut flowers consist of Heaths, Euphorias, Clematis, Mignonette, Camellias, Roses, Anemones, Azaleas, Primulas, Hyacinths, Tulips, Lily of the Valley, and other forced bulbs.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, May 3.—The transactions in our market are on a retail scale, at the unaltered quotations of this day week. Fine samples are becoming exceedingly scarce.

Sussex Pockets	108s. to 126s.
Weald of Kent	128s. to 146s.
Mid and East-Kent	140s. to 250s.

HAY MARKETS, SATURDAY, May 3.

	At period of 36 trusses.			
Meadow Hay	Smithfield, 65s. to 66s.	Cumberland, 65s. to 66s.	Whitchapel, 65s. to 66s.	
Clough Hay	70s. to 71s.	70s. to 71s.	65s. to 66s.	
Straw	24s. to 25s.	24s. to 25s.	24s. to 25s.	

WOOL, CITY, Monday, May 3.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Laid Highland Wool, per 24lbs.	9	0	9	6
White Highland do.	11	6	13	0
Laid Crossed do., unwashed	10	6	11	6
Do. do. washed	11	0	12	6
Laid Cheviot do., unwashed	11	0	13	0
Do. do. washed	12	6	15	6
White Cheviot do. do.	22	0	24	0
Imports for the week	32	bags.		
Previously this year	551			
Imports for the week	326	bales.		
Previously this year	13,901			

TALLOW, MONDAY, May 2.

Since our last report only a limited business has been doing in Tallow—the deliveries having been only 920 casks,—yet prices are well supported.

To-day, F.Y.C. on the spot is quoted at 26s. 0d. to —s. 0d. per cwt. Town Tallow 25s. 0d. per cwt. net cash, with a large supply on offer. Rough fat 2s. 0d. per 8lbs.

PARTICULARS OF TALLOW.

	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.
Casks.	Casks.	Casks.	Casks.	Casks.	
Stock this day	7,793	24,818	26,471	24,479	42,986
Price of Y.C.	48s. 0d.	28s. 6d.	26s. 9d.	28s. 6d.	26s. 0d.
to	to	to	to	to	to
Delivery last week	—s. 0d.	—s. 0d.	27s. 0d.	29s. 0d.	—s. 0d.
Do. from 1st June	1,051	1,258	1,738	693	930
Arrived last week	24,985	23,007	29,695	27,750	28,730
Do. from 1st June	555	929	54	610	1,083
Price of Town	24,430	110,292	30,673	26,711	105,192
	50s. 6d.	29s. 6d.	28s. 0d.	30s. 6d.	28s. 0d.

COAL MARKET, Monday, April 26.

A firm market, at last day's rates.
North Percy Hartley, —s. 0d.; Hartlepool's, 16s. 0d.; South Hartlepool's, —s. 0d.; Hutton's, 16s. 0d.; B. H